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TEHERAN AND CAIRO

by the Editors

POSTWAR PLANNING AND THE WAR

by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

REPORT ON A SECRET WEAPON

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"IN FACT, IN SPIRIT, AND IN PURPOSE"

By the Editors

WHEREVER free men reside, wherever the flame of anti-fascism scorches and blackens the enemy, the momentous achievements of Teheran and Cairo will be celebrated as the steps marking the beginning of the end and sealing a friendship without which there could have been nothing but doom and hopelessness. In the symbol of union embodied in the two separate declarations covering Europe and Asia we have the framework of a future without the torment and strife that have been the lot of these two continents for years on end.

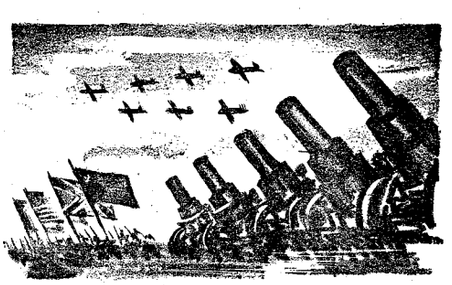
Some unthinking people may be unhappy that the Teheran announcement was too subdued, too quiet; that it was not an elaborate detailing of the political structure in which men will live for centuries henceforth. But the Teheran declaration was the gate to a future still to be wrested on the battlefield. The meaning of Teheran above all else is that there the plans were laid to hasten the end of the war by an agreement on "the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the East, the West, and the South." Shortening the war was the major consideration, for without such a quick end to the conflict victory remains a devout hope on which nothing of permanence can be built. Here then is the primary significance of the Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill meeting.

This new stage in the development of "common understanding" among the leading allies had its source in the Moscow Conference and its basis in the United Nations Pact and the Atlantic Charter. The Teheran documents can be only fully understood as the natural derivative of the Joint Four-Nation Declaration agreed upon in November by the foreign secretaries and the Chinese representative. If they are studied side by side one can quickly discern that whatever decisions were possible at Moscow were taken and the remainder were left to the three chiefs of government at Teheran. And as a matter of fact the Declarations on Atrocities did not have to wait for Teheran before the President, the Prime Minister, and the Soviet Premier put their signatures to it.

Moscow and Teheran were the two parts of an indivisible whole. At Moscow, as at Teheran, what occupied Hull, Molotov, and Eden "were frank and exhaustive discussions of the measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe." And "second only to the importance of hastening the end of the war was the recognition by the three governments" of the need to continue the present close collaboration "into the period following the end of hostilities." In effect the general declaration emerging from Teheran reiterated these principles without again repeating the Moscow decisions, which are now public property.

WHAT new measures the three Allied war leaders adopted are in the realm of secrecy and will only reveal themselves in the course of events. Undoubtedly there are problems connected with the establishment of a stable postwar order on which there still may not be complete agreement. These problems are enormously complex, but at least Hitler cannot rely on their complexity to create divisions among London, Washington, and Moscow. The answer to Berlin's hopes for such dissension can be found in the final sentence of the Teheran declaration—a sentence of profound import which reads: "We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose."

The Teheran declaration underscored again the desire of the leading nucleus of powers to enlist "the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small . . . to the elimination of tyranny, slavery, oppression, and intolerance." This principle was proclaimed at Moscow and carries now the support of the highest authorities as well as the approval of their deputies. Questions have been raised, even by those who should know better, whether small states would have their sovereignty protected as well as their right to participate as equals in any future organization. This reassurance is now amply clear. And those who had such doubts can put them to rest. What must be borne in mind is that all such doubts were cultivated by circles who sought to pit the smaller states against the larger ones, thereby promoting conflicts among the victory forces. The gilded reactionaries in the Polish emigre groups were the first to insist that the small states would be denied equality, that they would be engorged by one or another large power unless they federated to safeguard their interests. Not only do Polish plans for federation have the objective of reestablishing a *cordon sanitaire* policy, but the haggling which would accompany the scheme would be certain to ruin coalition unity. Hearst was quick to see it and so were several congressmen, and their "defense" of small states(remember what these same men said about the defense of Czechoslovakia) becomes the convenient vehicle with which to ram the Moscow decisions and those of Teheran.



The declaration concerning Iran is of course a powerful rebuttal to such attacks. But by itself it will be greeted in the Arab-Moslem world as a guarantee of independence. It will have a salutary effect coming as it does so soon after the unfortunate events in Lebanon. Iran is a predominantly Moslem country of some fifteen million people. To be sure the Teheran statement applies solely to Iran, but its meaning will not be lost on the millions of others who live in that area of colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

It was only last September that Iran declared war on Germany and formally joined the United Nations. This came after months of occupation of the country by British and Soviet forces who were compelled to intervene in 1941 when Nazi intrigue had reached its high point. Had the Nazis succeeded in their efforts they would have taken over the country to strike a blow at the Caucasus and at India as well as exerting pressure on Turkey.

Relations among Iran, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union are defined in a joint treaty which pledges to respect Iranian independence and to defend the country against aggression from any power. In return Iran gave Moscow and London the right to use her territory and transportation facilities for the shipment of war supplies to the USSR. The Allies have improved her highways and railroads and expanded her port facilities. Iran's economic difficulties are severe. Between her agriculture and production of oil she has no industries to speak of, and those privations she now suffers are indicative of her large contribution to the war effort in the Middle East. The Allied pledge to aid her now and at the close of hostilities will cement those ties which have been established in more than a year of collaboration. Nazi influence, diminishing as it was, has therefore suffered another great blow. And the Iranian declaration, in addition to developments in the Mediterranean theater and on the Eastern Front, will certainly be noticed in Ankara—Iran's neighbor. In fact, all three factors may now go a long way in determining Turkey's future status in the war.

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ALL that has been accomplished at Teheran will be attacked by the same figures who are trying to undermine the Moscow agreements and who opposed any permanent tripartite alliance to speed the war and secure the peace. Teheran, it can be anticipated, will drive them to even greater efforts. They will inflate the issues that still remain to be settled out of all proportion. Alfred Landon in his speech last week merely echoed the conspiracy afoot to destroy the President's foreign policy. That possibility will be only as strong as the country allows. And the best assurance that the conspiracy will be definitely defeated rests in nationwide vigilance, in the recognition that the Teheran decisions must be quickly put into life, and that their value for the future depends on our unity as a people in speeding the end of the war.

CAIRO

IT IS evident from the brief statement issued after the Cairo conference that a long step forward has been taken in our joint war against Japan. The preconditions for this vigorous assault were established along the Eastern Front by the achievements of the American and Australian forces in their island to island operations and by the British, American, Indian, and Chinese troops now poised for the invasion of Burma. With this much of the stage set, President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Prime Minister Churchill were able to prepare for the second phase of the Pacific war. Naturally what they and their staffs decided in the way of military moves will be revealed only in the course of battle. The first two sentences of the Cairo announcement make it clear that unity of command and coordination of effort have been established. Therein lies the immediate significance of the Cairo consultations.

But much else also emerges. For the first time Chinese military and political leaders have joined in making historic war decisions alongside China's two great allies. China has been accorded the status of a full and equal member in the leadership of the United Nations. Her allies, moreover, have pledged themselves to return all the territories stolen from her by Japan. Implicit in this pledge is the promise of a victorious Chinese nation emerging from the war in a position of independence and leadership in Eastern Asia.

Japan, stripped of her empire, will no longer be able to challenge China. For with the tentacles cut off the body of Japanese fascism will die quickly. The fascist groups, without their tangible and intangible assets, will collapse. The general statement issued by the three leaders is, therefore, tantamount to a definition of unconditional victory in the case of Japan.

THERE are other points about the Cairo meeting to be underscored. The three Allies state that "They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion." Thus we have an indication that neither Great Britain nor the United States will seek the exclusive use of any military or colonial base among the Japanese mandated islands nor in any other area of the Pacific not now claimed by one of these countries. As the second phase of the war proceeds it may be anticipated that some form of United Nations trusteeship will be worked out in connection with these islands.

Korea, enslaved by Japan for thirty-three years, "shall become free and independent." That phrase is prefixed by the qualifying words "in due course." There seems little reason to us to quibble over these three words or to ask why immediate independence at the close of hostilities was not proclaimed. Nevertheless, the principle of independence in accordance with the Atlantic Charter has been applied to Korea. Many further developments in the United Nations coalition will take place before Japanese fascism is finally smashed. From these developments and in accordance with the particular circumstances attending them will come a clarification of the immediate future of the Korean people.

The people of the entire world, and particularly those in the Pacific and in Eastern Asia, have been notified that Japan is to be eliminated as a major power. They have been told that Japan will no longer be able to play one foreign power against another. A united front has been welded against her. Japan as an aggressive force in the Pacific area is doomed to extinction. And throughout the area the forces of liberty, of progress, of democracy, of nationhood and independence become released from the principal burden that has oppressed them. The heaviest chain enslaving hundreds of millions of people is being lifted and will be completely shattered.

THE Cairo statement is by no means the whole answer to the necessities of war in the Pacific. It is a fine beginning, but it must be vastly implemented as the military and political situation unfolds. The Cairo declaration makes no mention of the British Crown colony of Hongkong. Obviously Hongkong must be returned to the Republic of China. Great Britain and the United States have already relinquished extraterritorial rights in China. It would seem high time that the British government went a step further and gave up all claim to Hongkong. Nor does the Cairo statement make any reference to other colonial possessions in Eastern Asia and the Pacific. The half-hearted steps announced by the Dutch and British with respect to eventual self-government in these possessions fall far short of meeting the requirements for speedy and efficient victory. Even the United States, while officially pledged to immediate independence for the Philippines, has failed to take the political steps needed to rally the Filipino people uncompromisingly on our side against the Japanese invader. At an early date, the Cairo statement will have to be strengthened by a move or a series of moves which will unequivocally demonstrate to the hundred and twenty million inhabitants of these colonial areas that their destiny lies not with the Japanese and their puppets, nor in the direction of opposing both sides in the war, but firmly with the United Nations. Otherwise the price of victory in terms of lives and time will be truly staggering.

The first steps in rallying to our side these elements within Japan who with us seek to rid themselves of the fascist overlords have yet to be taken. We know that organized anti-fascist groups operated inside Japan before the war. We know that the mass of Japan's people when they were not actively opposing the trend of internal events were no more than passively acquiescent to them. Such forces can and must be used in defeating Japan just as they are being used to defeat Germany. This holds true particularly for large numbers of Japanese and Japanese-Americans resident in the United States. We should look forward to the organization and active employment of "Free Japan Committees," especially in China where many anti-fascist Japanese live.

That all the problems we face in preparing for the second stage of the war were not considered or solved by the Cairo meeting in no way detracts from the tremendous significance of this first conference among the three leaders and their military experts. Cairo accomplished the basic things. The coalition of China, the United States, and Great Britain was made a living reality. Military decisions were reached. United Nations postwar cooperation for the preservation of peace in the Pacific, as well as in Europe, was assured. These are great accomplishments indeed.

Teheran and Cairo are the promises of better days to come. With the maturing unity of the four great powers—the centers of democracy's political and military strength—victory can be won quickly and the world's anguish ended. We have now also the cornerstones for an enduring structure of peace and good will among all peoples. On all of us now rests the burden of responsibility to see to it that the evil minority everywhere does not destroy what has been created out of so much suffering and torture.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Whither Willkie?

How long can a man sit on a fence and still give the illusion of having both feet solidly on the ground? The portrait of a Presidential candidate carefully dodging an issue begins to look more and more like one Wendell Willkie. The issue is subsidies, the issue is taxes, it is the Little Steel formula, it is any number of urgent items of home front organization. Mr. Willkie is something more than an aspirant for the highest office in the land. He is a national force. As such he has done a great service to his country by championing the ideas of international cooperation and waging a fight for them that has already compelled some measure of reorientation, inadequate and ambiguous though it is, within the Republican Party. In this field Mr. Willkie has brilliantly led the way, and his book, *One World*, contributed to the shaping of a national thought which finds its crystallization in the declarations of Moscow, Cairo and Teheran.

But the problems of our wartime economy are not extraneous to the waging of the war and the building of the peace; they are intimately bound up with them. The Republican members of Congress, with few exceptions, are engaged in a conspiracy to dynamite the dykes against inflation by banning all subsidies. What is Mr. Willkie's position? "Our domestic economic and social ills cry out at present for the application of the policies and program of a Woodrow Wilson," he tells us in his Dallas, Tex., speech. But pardon us, Mr. Willkie, this is World War II, not World War I.

The Republicans in the House have gone down the line for the program of the National Association of Manufacturers on taxes. What is Mr. Willkie's position? He boldly challenges Colonel McCormick to enter the Illinois Presidential primary (haven't we heard that record before?) Or are we to conclude that Mr. Willkie's address to the Denver Chamber of Commerce, in which he talked about "great waste, unnecessary interference and regimentation and a policy which threatens to tax private capital out of existence"—all of which ideas failed to elect Alfred Landon in 1936—constitutes Mr. Willkie's position on domestic issues in 1943?

Evidently Mr. Willkie's best friends are worried about this vacuum in his political campaign. One of them, Thomas W. Lamont of the House of Morgan, in an article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, chides the Republicans in Congress for their irresponsible administration-baiting and their failure to offer a constructive domestic program, and urges Mr. Willkie to come to the rescue. Mr. Lamont evidently realizes that here is a case where continued silence gives assent that can only profit the country's enemies and Mr. Willkie's.

The Negroes Speak Up

THE political statement issued by spokesmen for six million Negroes in this country last week is dynamite — it may well blow sky-high the aspirations of defeatist candidates in '44. The document is one of national and international importance, and all Americans owe a vote of thanks to the representatives of the twenty-five Negro organizations who drew it up. It exploded totally the dreams of those in Berlin and Tokyo who had speculated upon the possibility of detaching one-tenth of our citizenry from the war effort. For the first qualification a candidate must possess who seeks the Negro's vote is that he stand for "vigorous prosecution of the war." The Negroes serve notice that they will brook no candidate who seeks a "negotiated peace as advocated by the Hitler-like forces within our country."

The document indicated that the Negro people have achieved a high degree of unity, a factor which has great power at the ballot box. "We hereby serve notice," the signers say, "that the Negro has come of age politically." This will not go unnoticed by the aspiring political candidates who are also notified that they must deliver the goods; words cannot serve for '44. "The Negro vote can no longer be won by meaningless generalities in party platforms which are promptly forgotten on election day."

The Negroes outlined the deeds they require from the candidates: the "yardstick" they go by, as revealed in this statement, may well serve for all patriotic Americans. It outlines a program that will benefit the nation as a whole, in addition to furthering the just requirements of their own people. The aspirant for office must work for the rights of organized labor, for price control and rationing, for all the imperatives that all-out warfare demands. Although the Commander-in-Chief is unmentioned by name in the statement, the planks adopted by the Negroes parallel his policies, and require maximum support for the President.

Another factor of vital significance is this: the Negroes, having struck a new high in the unity of their own people, seek to extend national unity to its fullest. They offer the hand of cooperation to "enlightened labor, church, farm, and other groups to oppose actively the current wave of reaction." The document says, "we will combine in a minimum program with such enlightened groups. Together these groups constitute a majority of the electorate."

The outstretched hand of the Negro people should immediately be grasped by all patriotic Americans, particularly by organized labor, which likewise seeks to mobilize the people for victory in next year's crucial elections. The Negroes, in this document, have outlined a course for victory.

Jim Crow Takes a Fall

WE BELIEVE that the locomotive of history will travel all the more safely and quickly, now that an incompetent and evil employe of the railroads has been tossed off the train. We refer to that age-old wrecker, Jim Crow, who got his walking-papers last week from the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee, which, in its most sweeping order to date, gave both railroad management and unions thirty days to comply with the decision to stop barring Negroes from jobs, from upgrading, and from union membership.

Thus, at one stroke two great advances were made: first, in the direction of eliminating that cancer of our democracy, racial discrimination; second, in overcoming the acute manpower shortage in our crucial transportation industry. And not only in the latter—the ruling will undoubtedly pave the way for maximum employment of Negroes in all other industries.

Needless to say, the proponents of the

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old—the spokesmen for Southern bourbonism—put up a last-ditch fight. The representative of the Southern Railway insisted that only "gradual processes of education" could eliminate Jim Crow practices. His arguments were crushed both by FEPC officials and by labor's spokesman at the hearings, Frederick N. Myers, vice president of the National Maritime Union. The latter pointed out: "We have a record in our industry of no vessels missing, or convoys, because of any disagreement between members of crews on the question of color. Convoy movements are accelerated because of our non-discrimination policy."

Forward-looking Americans immediately welcomed the ruling as a great advance, both toward winning the war and in guaranteeing the peace. They looked to the next big step: the elimination of Jim Crowism in the armed forces. It was generally felt that this railroad ruling will speed measures to give our Negro citizens in uniform the same privileges and rights their white brothers enjoy. There is no doubt that the railroad decision will bring consternation to certain men in Berlin and Tokyo, and their opposite numbers in the United States.

DEMOCRACY in America took another big step forward last week. The long, patient, and aggressive campaign by millions of fair-minded citizens against Jim Crow in sports was rewarded by the official statement of policy pronounced by Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, the head of organized baseball. After eloquent pleas by Paul Robeson and other outstanding Negro and white leaders, Judge Landis said: "Each club is entitled to employ Negro players to any and all extents it desires."

As Mr. Robeson afterward indicated, the way "is now clear for Negro players to enter the major leagues." What remains now to implement Judge Landis' statement of policy is a continuation of the campaign: the fight now goes down to the various cities where sport lovers can urge managers of the local teams to employ outstanding Negro athletes. Undoubtedly this precedent will clear the way for the right of Negroes to play in sports of all categories. It begins to look as though Jim Crow has two strikes on him—another good pitch and he's out.

Plans by UNRRA

A GOOD deal of nonsense has been written "analyzing" the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation conference at Atlantic City. That UNRRA will undoubtedly be plagued by organizational difficulties, that it can expect to be harried by those who seek to sabotage its every action and reduce it to impotence is as much to be expected as Hearst's objections to the Moscow con-

Holding the Line

LABOR marched into the Senate's Banking and Currency Committee, which up to then had been more or less inclined to go along with the House in killing off the administration's subsidy program, and succeeded in persuading the Senators to look before they leap. President William Green of the AFL told the committee exactly what the death of the subsidy program would mean in dollars and cents to the average American. President Philip Murray of the CIO warned: "I am seriously concerned at the prospect of the mad upward inflationary spiral that might well be touched off by congressional destruction of our price control program."

Nor did labor stand alone. Five mayors, headed by New York's La Guardia, flatly declared that stabilization is impossible without widespread subsidies. Most tellingly, the OPA staff backed up Administrator Chester Bowles' blunt statement to the Senate, which in substance, went: "I hate subsidies. I came to this job convinced that subsidies were wrong. But I have learned that subsidies are essential to prevent inflation and to save price control, and there is no other way of doing it."

The pressure from labor, civic bodies, and ordinary people who have been writing in from all parts of the country has thrown the Senate committee into a dither. Now there is talk of compromise—which at least testifies to a new willingness to consider the problem of holding the line against inflation. Of course, Senator Taft is pushing with all his formidable strength for severe limitations on the amount and uses of subsidies—in effect, his "compromise" would render the subsidy program meaningless. Taft is able to swing his weight because administration leaders in Congress have faltered and backed away from the fight for stabilization.

No doubt, the Senators' inclination toward a compromise has its advantages over the outright rejection of subsidies. It is the type of compromise, however, that becomes the important consideration. Rep. Monroney has offered the worst of all possible "solutions," a proposal that labor submit to the continuation of the Little Steel formula in return for severely limited subsidies to hold prices—somewhere near present levels. This "either-or" proposition—no subsidies at all if labor does not stick to the Little Steel formula—only perpetuates the inequality resulting from wages frozen to 1942 levels on the premise that prices would also be regulated, while in practice prices have been allowed to mount steeply. Another compromise mentioned is that the Little Steel formula remain in effect unchanged, accompanied by a subsidized roll-back of prices to 1942 levels; or if this proves impossible, the formula would be revised to bring wages into line with whatever price level is achieved through subsidies. There is more sense in the latter approach; the danger of any compromise remains, nevertheless: the danger that the amount of subsidies authorized will be too limited and labor will again be tied to an out-dated formula while prices are allowed to rise.

What the Senate's hearings have definitely shown is that the fight for subsidies is by no means over, and certainly not lost, as some prophets of doom have cried. Behind labor and the people stands the President with his veto power. He will certainly use this power if the Senate yields to the farm bloc and their big-business backers.

To add weight to the mail and the testimony in support of subsidies, the House "Fighting Sixty" group, formed to protect the consumer, has called a public conference in Washington for December 9, similar to the conference held last July, but broader in composition and timed to bring the most effective pressure on the Senate, and on the House too, where the subsidy issue will again be debated. The "Fighting Sixty" have invited senators to attend the conference of unionists and community organizations and the number of acceptances is gratifying. It is worth repeating that face to face with the people, Congress can be induced to be reasonable.

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ference and the fuss the McCormick-Patterson press will kick up over the Teheran decisions. The UNRRA has not come into being with all problems solved and with clear sailing ahead. But the significance of the UNRRA conference lies in its affirmation of the United Nations coalition, its premise that relief and rehabilitation are problems concerning all the United Nations and not the exclusive property of any one country or bloc of countries.

Before the Moscow conference, which cemented the anti-Axis coalition, the United Nations had come together only once—at the Hot Springs food conference last summer dealing solely with postwar problems. Following the Moscow declaration—and one of the direct results of that momentous event—the United Nations met as a body to discuss problems of the war itself in relation to the question of world-wide relief and rehabilitation. Up to now the Anglo-American combined boards on food, shipping, and numerous other projects have assumed sole responsibility and authority for relief and rehabilitation. The UNRRA replaces the two-power alliance with the United Nations coalition. The implications are as broad as they are obvious. The Soviet Union and China take their rightful place in the determination of policy, along with the smaller nations. Relief and rehabilitation are now admittedly the concern of all, not the property of an Anglo-American bloc or the headache of each nation forced to jockey individually for its share of desperately needed food and materials.

The combined Anglo-American boards will not of course relinquish power to the UNRRA without a struggle. But coalition repudiates the power-politics conception of using food as a weapon to control occupied countries once they are liberated, or of using relief and rehabilitation to promote imperialist ventures and to intimidate populations struggling toward self-determination and democratic stability. For all the difficulties ahead, the fact remains that UNRRA comes into existence because of the necessities of the anti-fascist war. Problems of organization as well as group rivalries will also be influenced by the same necessities, by the imperatives of the coalition which increasingly dominate the war and the peace to follow.

Imperialist Lament

WHEN he spoke on November 25 before London's Empire Parliamentary Association, Prime Minister Smuts was mindful of the fact that his remarks were of an "explosive" character. Apparently this was also the feeling of the British censorship, which did not release his address until after the Teheran conference. It might have wrecked more than one apple cart and injected a most disturbing note into the negotiations. It might also have revealed a category of British thought which has retarded popular desire to end the war quickly.

Mr. Smuts voiced fears which are not his alone. He has been on more than one occasion the vehicle of expression of a powerful nucleus in and out of official London circles. South Africa's premier sees Britain at the close of the war as the weakest power of the Anglo-American-Soviet "trinity." Russia will be "mistress of the continent" inasmuch as "three of the five great powers in Europe will have disappeared"—France, Germany, and Italy. In the Far East Soviet power will also be unique because the "Japanese Empire will have gone the way of all flesh, and therefore any check or balance that might have arisen in the East will have disappeared." Smuts' proposal to prop British strength is a system of alliance with the small democracies of western Europe to counterbalance the USSR, it would seem, and perhaps, inferentially, the United States.

Well, Marshal Smuts insists that he is thinking more or less out loud. He does not explain why in his estimation France, Germany, and Italy will be out of the postwar European picture while smaller countries now also under the Nazi heel will survive. We shall let this observation go by, attributing it charitably to loose thinking out loud. But the Marshal's other opinions are more carefully conceived and if they gain ascendancy can only mean that the future will be replete with disaster. They are indicative of how a section of Britain's imperialists will let old ghosts out of the closet to haunt those whom they consider to be their rivals. And especially dismaying is the Smuts idea that the appearance of the Soviet Union as an equal among equals menaces Great Britain's participation in world affairs. Russia is pictured as the colossus driving all before it and threatening to control the continent and Asia into the bargain. For all his words to the contrary, Smuts is reconstructing an old bogey logically leading to the establishment of *cordon sanitaire* states.

SOME men have of course learned nothing from the tragic decades which were the prelude to this war. And while Smuts has made some advances in his own thinking—he is apparently a proponent of the tripartite alliance—they are cancelled out by hoary power politics and his failure to acknowledge China as a key nation. Ominous also is the muffled call to some American groups who entertain ideas identical with Smuts' and who fear that Tokyo after a United Nations victory will not be a buffer against the USSR. Perhaps he figures that with the sympathetic support of the America Firsters he can somehow regain England's past glory as the leading imperialist power. Yet Smuts also fears American strength. He most assuredly remembers Henry Luce's "American Century" and Virgil Jordan's prophecy that a weakened Britain will of necessity become a junior partner of the United States.

All this fright on Smuts' part is characteristic of men who cannot move out of the imperialist mold even at a moment when they are committed to winning a war of liberation. Britain's place in the world can be assured only as she cooperates as part of a concert of democratic nations in the framework of the four-power coalition. Power politics is the very antithesis of collective strength. It has always been the core of imperialist adventure terminating inevitably in a clash of arms. Yet Smuts proposes *Machtpolitik* as Britain's solution to the problem of what he considers her waning strength. And that notion rests on the assumption that it is Great Britain that has made the only worthwhile contribution to the war while other nations, and the Soviet Union especially, have sat back, occasionally sending a soldier to the firing line. Such ideas will take a long time in dying but die they must. And we can count on millions of British to give them a proper burial with a tombstone to read: "Here lies power politics."

For the Sake of a Scoop

ONE of the most wretched spectacles we have seen in a long time is the current transatlantic debate between the Washington and London censorship offices over who was responsible for violating the official release time of the Cairo conference communique. Reuters is undoubtedly one of the culprits. But the whole overseas quarrel overlooks the reprehensible deportment of the British and American information agencies in permitting the publication for three weeks of a stock of dope stories, hair-raising rumors, and wild guesses as to when and where the meeting would take place and what would be its content. The Axis radio, sensing something in the making, took advantage of the gossip by adding distortions of its own. And if there had been an enemy bombardment of the Cairo area, endangering the lives of the conference participants, we would not have been at all surprised—so outrageous were the leaks in advance of the meeting. These consultations are not arranged for the sake of scoops and beats or to test the enterprise of cable editors. Nor does it help our political warfare one whit to engage in such headline circuses. Secrecy, until the proper authorities deem it unnecessary, is a war weapon and its violation is tantamount to an act of sabotage. Hereafter we hope that those in charge of such matters will take the safety of our war leaders with a little more seriousness than they showed in this episode.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

TIME AND TIDE

WHEN you sit on the beach in, say, Miami and gaze at the Atlantic Ocean, you hardly realize that a few miles away a great movement of waters directly affects the movements of tanks, guns, and trucks and the takeoff of planes on the fronts where the armies of Generals Yeremenko, Sokolovsky, Popov, and Rokossovsky are slugging forward toward Polotsk, Vitebsk, Moghilev, and Minsk. That movement of water is the Gulf Stream which originates in the Gulf of Mexico, skirts the Atlantic seaboard, from which it is separated by a narrow "cold wall," turns east near Labrador, hugs the hump of Norway, and loses itself in the Barents Sea.

That enormous mass of warm water sends an arm into the Baltic, and this, along with other geographical factors, creates a condition where in the Soviet Union, the isotherms (lines of equal mean temperature) do not run parallel to the latitudes, but cross them at an angle which is about forty degrees for Longitude 30 E. (Leningrad-Odessa). The farther west you advance, the greater the deviation of the given isotherm from the respective latitude. In other words, the closer you get to the Baltic in a straight east-west direction, the warmer it gets. To take one example: Vologda and Paldisky (or Baltic Port, near Tallinn) are on the same latitude. The mean temperature of Vologda is 10.7°F. in January and 63°F. in July, while Paldisky never freezes.

Kharkov, Kiev, and Lvov lie almost in the same latitude, but while the winter around Kharkov is extremely severe, it is moderate around Kiev and mild in Galicia. The mean temperature for the current month in Kharkov is 23° F., while it is 31.5°F. in Prague (both on the same latitude). The difference is eleven and twelve degrees in January and February respectively. All this means that the farther west the Red Army advances, the later it will be able to take advantage of extreme winter conditions, while near the Polish border, some 200 miles west of the present battle line, such conditions will be sporadic and unreliable, especially in the western Ukraine where thaws frequently set in several times in the dead of winter.

BACK in September of this year I repeatedly wrote that the Red Army might be prevented from forcing the line on the Dnieper this fall by (1) autumn rains, and (2) the absence of a second front in Europe. I am extremely happy to have been wrong. Despite the absence of a second front in Europe and because of the lateness of the rains the Red Army forced the line of the Dnieper and established two huge bridgeheads. One of them stretches for 200 miles from Zhlobin to Pereyaslav —it is seventy miles deep at the deepest point, near Korosten, the other extends for 200 miles from Cherkassy, around the bend, to south of Zaporozhie, and it is roughly sixty miles deep north of Krivoi Rog. The Germans hold the following stretches of the western bank of the Dnieper: Orsha-Zhlobin (about 120 miles), Pereyaslav-Cherkassy (fifty miles) and Nikopol to the mouth of the Dnieper (125 miles). Thus the enemy holds, roughly, 300 miles of the western bank and 120 of the eastern, while the Red Army holds about 625 miles of the eastern bank and 400 of the western.

These figures show that the crossing of this great river barrier was made in a decisive way—more than half of its length is solidly in Soviet hands and this in the strategically most important sectors—with the Germans holding on precariously, but stubbornly, to two sectors of its lower half and to a hopelessly outflanked bridgehead on the eastern bank.

So it may be said that as a strategic obstacle the Dnieper is no more. But it remains an operational obstacle, creating a series of bottlenecks for the flow of supplies to the Soviet bridgeheads on the western bank. As we saw above, the Russians are maintaining a front of more than 500 miles on the western bank (the bases of these two large and one small bulge total about 400 miles.) In order to feed this front of 500 miles the Red Army has only five permanent railroad crossings—at Dniepropetrovsk, Kremenchug, Kiev, between Chernigov and Ovruch, and Rechitza. In other words, assuming even that Red Army engineers have already restored these five railroad bridges to a state of permanency, permitting them to carry a full load (which is doubtful), the Red Army has for its offensive an average of one railroad line per one hundred miles of front, while the Germans have eleven railroads feeding those very same 500 miles of front. Of course the Russians have all the corresponding eastern halves of these same railroads, but they are tied up in bunches by the fact that the Dnieper crossings are few and far apart.

The retreating Germans are gradually falling back on their rear and their stores, while the Red Army has to bring up everything with it, not only to enable it to fight but in order to rekindle the fire of life in the depleted population of the liberated areas.

IT SEEMS that right at the height of the greatest Soviet effort to expand the bridgeheads won across the Dnieper, the belated rains started—and the situation which we feared would develop when the Red Army was approaching the Dnieper from the east, did develop west of the river. The Germans found themselves in possession of intact railroads and muddy roads. The Russians found themselves relying on muddy roads only. And in addition, the situation in western Europe permitted the Germans to rush strong infantry and tank formations from there to the southern front in the East.

First the Nazis stemmed General Konev at Krivoi Rog, and then, when Rokossovsky erupted into Kiev and toward the Carpathians, they threw enormous forces quickly mustered through the key-junctions of Sarny, Rovno, and Tarnopol against Rokossovsky's successor, Vatutin, who at that time had nothing but a pontoon bridge at Kiev. The great battles of Zhitomir, Brussilov, and Korosten ensued in which the Germans won a negative success. They did not crack the Soviet front, but they delayed Vatutin's march to the Dniester, Pruth, and the Carpathians. Mud choked the Red Army offensive, assisted by the Nazis' ability to spare reserves from Europe. However, the Red Army front in Byelorussia, 200 miles to the north, was able to take the offensive while the battle for the Kiev bulge was still raging. This was possible because it was colder there, because there had been a lull of almost two months before Gomel to prepare things, and because there were no bottlenecks back of Rokossovsky.

The center of gravity of the Soviet pressure is graually moving north, *away from the mud*. Strategy has to bow to meteorology, at least for the time being. December, January, February, and March (under normal weather conditions) are the months for large scale winter action north of the Roslavl-Moghilev-Minsk line. If you write the names of the top commanding Red Army generals in their proper sectors on the map, you will have the following list between the Black Sea and the Nevel salient: Tolbukhin, Malinovsky, Konev, Vatutin, Rokossovsky, Popov, Sokolovsky and Yeremenko. The last one to enter the present fray was Popov in his advance from

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Propoisk to within twenty miles of Moghilev. It is reasonable to expect that Sokolovsky (at the "Smolensk Gate," between Vitebsk and Orsha) and Yeremenko (in the Nevel bulge) will be next at bat.

There is little doubt that the Red Army will stage a winter offensive on a scale probably exceeding that of 1942-43. For this there are a number of good reasons and one trivial one: that Mr. Drew Pearson has just predicted that it will not.

MEANWHILE the Italian front has been showing signs of life. Both the Eighth and the Fifth Armies have made some advances and have penetrated what was supposed to have been a German "winter line." We doubt that this line was a sort of Rubicon beyond which great decisions might be expected. Italy has a number of other such lines, each successive one closer to the German main bases in the north. Barring a German disaster elsewhere, the ladder-climbing will continue. The rate of the climbing might be judged by the fact that the Fifth Army has advanced sixty miles from Salerno in seventy-three days. It is still some 350 air miles from the Po.

The amazingly successful operations of Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia have been overshadowed by the formation of what amounts to a provisional Yugoslav government *not-in-exile*. This is the first revolution inside Nazi-occupied Europe and it will be incumbent on the United Nations to support the new government with all forms of military aid, on the basis of the Moscow and Teheran declarations.

Air blows against Germany have been heavy but not very frequent. During the past week Berlin and Leipzig got 1,500 tons of bombs apiece.

In the Pacific, naval and aerial action took place which appears to be preliminary to a simultaneous move against New Britain and the Marshalls. The issue of the great Sino-Japanese battle of Changteh is still in doubt, no communique having been received at the time I write, but it does not appear, from earlier reports, to be going well for the enemy.

AROUND THE WORLD

WHAT WILL TURKEY DO?

IT IS futile to speculate on what happened between Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Turkish Foreign Minister Numan Menemencioglu when they met at Cairo immediately after the Moscow Conference. Neither of them hinted at the character of their talks. But regardless of the conversation's theme, so far as Turkey is concerned the meeting indicated that Menemencioglu was not fearful of provoking the Nazis by discussing affairs with Eden. For certainly the conversations did not revolve around such matters as the weather in the Middle or Near East; they must have dealt with issues concerning Turkish neutrality. Berlin is no casual bystander when this subject is brought to the fore.

But if it is silly to guess at what went on between the British and Turkish diplomats we can nevertheless point out certain facts or factors which may have a bearing on Turkey's attitude and action in the near future. Under the rule of Mustapha Kemal, Turkey had based her foreign policy on close friendship with the Soviet Union, on the gradual improvement of her relations with the western powers without surrendering any of her rights, and on close collaboration with the Balkan states. Kemal died in 1938 when the Munich conception of international relations had reached its high point.

It is common knowledge that during the Munich period, Ankara abandoned the foundation of her foreign policy, that is, her friendship with the USSR—a friendship which helped Turkey emancipate herself from the foreign bondage known as the system of "capitulations." Under that system foreign countries exercised extra-territorial rights within the old Ottoman empire. But during the Munich interregnum Turkey gradually steered towards Germany, entering the German economic orbit under the "magical" influence of Dr. Schacht and his barter system. Indeed, Germany's economic penetration into the Balkan peninsula and the Near East brought about a deep change in the character of the Balkan entente and in the whole system of political and economic relations between the individual states of that area of Europe and Asia Minor.

GERMAN influence in Turkey was not something new. For a generation before the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908, Turkish army cadres were educated either in the German Military Academy of Berlin or in the Turkish Military School of Istanbul (the Harbie) which operated under the direction of German officers. The wives of many high ranking Turkish officers or the governesses of their children were German women. Indeed, German Kultur had penetrated the Ottoman ruling class.

German influence, however, was temporarily upset after the revolution of 1908. This happened, first, as a result of the work of the Jacobin-minded revolutionaries of the type of Ahmed Riza, guided by French diplomacy; then by the Girondist-minded Prince Sabaheddin and Kiamil Pasha and their liberals guided by British diplomacy. But in the end German imperialism recovered its influence and Turkey fought side by side with the Germans in World War I.

When Mustapha Kemal later took hold of the governmental reins he operated on the basis of capitalizing on the antagonisms among the western powers thereby saving his country from the dangers of becoming a British and American colonial protectorate. Through his far-reaching reforms he was able to check foreign influence, including the German, and start Turkey on a new road. He discarded all Pan-Islamic and Panturanic schemes and adopted a good neighbor policy.

KEMAL'S death, at a crucial moment in European history—Munich—gave the Nazis the opportunity to re-establish themselves in Turkey. All this was countenanced by the Cliveden set and the French Comite des Forges because in their calculations Germany would ultimately direct its aggressiveness towards the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, in 1939, before the Munich agreement ended in a break between Hitler Germany and Chamberlain Great Britain. Ankara, fearing Nazi aggression, signed a treaty of mutual aid with London. Simultaneously Turkey intensified her activities in vitalizing the Balkan entente, formed in Athens in 1934, with Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Rumania as participants. In 1939 Turkey was a non-belligerent ally of Great Britain.

Even after war was declared in September 1939 against Germany, London and Paris were rather more preoccupied with the fortunes of Mannerheim's Finland than with their enemy, Berlin. Chamberlain and Daladier seemed to consider Germany an enemy only technically, while the Soviet Union was considered the essential foe. And at that time also Turkey, Finland, and Iran were viewed as satellites of Chamberlain's England and Daladier's France. It was also in that period that Soviet officials mentioned the appearance of mysterious planes, flying from the direction of Turkey and Iran, over Caucasus oilfields and military installations.

The fall of France in 1940 jolted Turkey's non-belligerent alliance with Great Britain. Ankara turned neutral and stuck to her neutrality even when Greece and Yugoslavia were attacked later on.

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And as Germany concentrated troops on the Bulgarian-Turkish and Greek-Turkish borders, Ankara began to pursue a new line in foreign policy. Her neutrality became one of friendliness towards Germany. In 1941, immediately after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, Turkey signed a non-aggression treaty with Germany. As N. Vasilyev writes in an article in a recent issue of *War and the Working Class:* "During the first few months following Germany's attack on the USSR, the whole Turkish press, in the name of this neutrality (which combined an alliance with Great Britain and friendship with the Soviet Union with a policy of friendship towards Hitlerite Germany) published only the boastful dispatches of the German Information Bureau about the victories and conquests of the Hitlerite invaders on Soviet territory." Another proof of Turkey's pro-German policy was given when a Turkish court, acting on mere suspicion, tried and sentenced two Soviet citizens for an alleged attack on Nazi Ambassador von Papen.

UP TO the day of the Nazi defeat at Stalingrad, Turkey's foreign policy was motivated by an unwillingness to sacrifice anything for the cause of liberty. One might show some degree of leniency towards the Ankara government by acknowledging that Turkey stood in the way of a German drive against the Middle East, even though other nations sacrificed millions of lives and suffered immense losses in property to save the world, including Turkey, from enslavement. But it is difficult to understand why Turkey, even after the Nazi defeat at Stalingrad, and the definite turn of the tide against Hitler, continued her neutrality. For the fact is that this neutrality, after Stalingrad and after the Soviet's summer offensive, is useful only to Hitler because it protects his eastern Balkan flank.

However, new developments point to the probability of Turkey's adopting a new status. In a recent statement President Ismet Inonu spoke of the "sacrifices" that Turkey is now ready to make for the common cause. Previous to this statement Sukru Saracoglu, the Turkish Premier, in an interview (August 23, 1943) with a correspondent of the New York *Times*, John Gunther, and in the presence of the American Ambassador, Laurence Steinhardt, declared that Turkey expected, after Italy was knocked out of the war and the Nazis withdrew from the Balkans, to step in, terminate the chaotic conditions, and consolidate the Balkan area. That declaration was made at a time when London and Washington were still thinking primarily in terms of AMG, when certain circles were thinking in terms of "who is going to arrive where, first," and when the idea of federations of small states built up by governments-in-exile without the consent of the respective peoples, was being pushed. Sukru Saracoglu was then apparently in favor of a revival of the Balkan entente to be linked with the federation planned by the Polish reactionaries in London.

All these thoughts and actions of Turkish or other statesmen belong to the pre-Moscow Conference period. The Moscow declarations, however, have brought about a radical change. The Eden-Menemencioglu meeting in Cairo took place in the new political climate of the Moscow Conference and the Moscow declarations which preclude power politics and secret coalitions. And since the paramount issue at the Moscow Conference was close military cooperation and speedy action to end the war in the shortest possible time, it seems to me that Mr. Eden, in his conversation with the Foreign Minister of Turkey, must have emphasized the need for Turkey's more active participation in the war. The form or time, however, of Turkish participation in the war is a matter concerning the military staffs of the United Nations.

Turkey cannot refuse any longer to share the sacrifices of this war. Neutrals cannot hope to exist outside of the postwar world, which will be shaped by the victorious nations; and they cannot have a place of importance unless they share in the sacrifices.

DEMETRIOS CHRISTOPHORIDES.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

SOLDIERS SHOULD VOTE

Washington.

BY THE time this is read, the Senate will have acted on the bill granting the vote to all members of the armed forces, to the merchant marine, and to certain civilians involved in war work abroad. But to date the debate in the Senate must be taken as a warning that the legislation is in for a difficult time unless the labor movement and civic organizations give it more support than they did while the bill was in the Senate. Actually, the legislation is the first of a series of measures before Congress designed to broaden the franchise. While no Senator—except "Cotton Ed" Smith and some of the other poll taxers—dare come out in flat opposition to a proposal that soldiers and sailors be allowed to vote, the tactic of the reactionaries has been to emasculate the bill by amending it to death, and above all to delay its passage. [Since this was written, poll-tax Democrats and a majority of Senate Republicans joined hands to shelve the Green-Lucas bill and pass a substitute which leaves it to the states to make whatever provision they please, or no provision at all, to enable the soldiers to vote. This action can still be reversed in the House of Representatives—The Editors.]

The Republicans have sabotaged the bill since they are afraid that the vote of the armed forces would be overwhelmingly progressive and would register eager support for the Commander-in-Chief. Senator Taft took up the Senate's time with one objection after another, though of course he expressed his passionate desire to give the men in service the ballot. Senator Vandenberg echoed his fine sentiments, but used every trick to amend the bill out of existence. Senator Danaher came forward with the fantastic suggestion that the families of soldiers and sailors be allowed to cast the votes of their sons, brothers, and relatives. Senator Bridges managed to slip through an amendment which had no other purpose than to impugn the integrity of President Roosevelt. Senator Brooks tried to ban members of the merchant marine from voting, and did succeed in taking the franchise away from government civilian employees abroad. For their part, the southern Democrats want to kill the bill because they dislike any attempt to broaden the franchise, and because they fear the bill's anti-poll tax implications. Together with the Republicans, they raise the old demagogic cry of states' rights and constitutionality. They propose that voters' lists be prepared by the states—which means keeping Negroes and the poorer whites, who have not been able to afford the poll tax, from voting in 1944.

Unfortunately, the labor movement, so vitally concerned with the broadest extension of the franchise, failed to give aggressive backing to the Green-Lucas bill granting the vote to the armed services. No labor representative arrived on the Hill to urge the bill's passage, nor did the unions line up support or put the heat on administration leaders to press the legislation through the Senate. This weakness can be corrected when the bill reaches the House, for its passage is only a prelude to the many franchise struggles ahead.

At present there is a growing conviction among progressive groups supporting legislation to extend the franchise (the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill, the Lucas bill to keep the polls open until 9 PM in the November 1944 elections so that war workers can vote, the measure to facilitate registra-

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tion of agricultural and migrant workers, the passage of a constitutional amendment by state convention to grant the vote to young men and women from the ages of eighteen to twenty inclusive)—there is a growing conviction among these groups that such legislation can be speeded through Congress if it is sponsored by a broad people's committee with strong labor support. Such a committee can set its sights toward the elimination of the white primary in the South, the restrictive "educational" provisions used to prevent Negroes from casting their votes. It can fight for uniform registration laws throughout the country, and for the franchise to the citizens of the District of Columbia. A representative committee is needed to arouse public interest in the struggle to enfranchise the 30,000,000 and more who at the present time are prevented from exercising their full privileges as citizens. The fact that the bitterest reactionaries oppose every attempt to extend the franchise is proof of the democratic significance of this struggle.

★

FOR over half a decade, part of the "color" of Washington has been the little man next door who jots down the license numbers of automobiles in front of the house, or the investigator who pumps the high-school lad about the neighbors' evening visitors, or the star-chamber interrogations of government employees at which the victim is confronted with startling "proof" that his friend's mother-in-law went to a "Communistic" meeting in support of Loyalist Spain back in 1937. The intimidation, the shameless snooping, the pressure on a wife to snitch on her husband, the demand that an office worker gossip about his colleagues, the constant dread that some insignificant action might be misinterpreted in a way to cost one's job, the hounding of anyone who dared as far back as 1938 to disapprove of Hitlerism or Japanese aggression—such fears oppressed every government employee, high or low, but mostly low. For who could be sure that sometime, somehow he had not in some way sinned in the eyes of the US Civil Service Commission?

At last, the Civil Service Commission has been forced to outlaw some of the worst abuses practiced by its investigators and tacitly approved by the Commission. After years of making life hell on earth for unionists and progressives in government jobs, the Gestapo pattern of "loyalty investigations" has been modified to a considerable degree by the Commission's November 3 order to all investigators to keep their questioning more or less within the bounds of reason and decency.

Full credit should be given the United Federal Workers of America (CIO) for the victory. Liberal and progressive organizations, a few publications (of which NEW MASSES is proud to be one), and the national office of the CIO have from time to time vigorously protested the Commission's conduct. But the UFWA carried the main burden of resistance. The union carefully documented case after case of abuse and intimidation, and confronted the Commission with its findings.

Naturally, the diehards are kicking up a fuss in Congress. Rep. Fred E. Busbey of Illinois, a hunter after "Reds" from way back, has demanded an immediate congressional investigation of the Civil Service Commission. The Dies Committee has responded with drooling eagerness and promises to "air" the whole scandalous trend that accords government employees a minimum of their rights as American citizens. The Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance has launched a crusade to prevent the Commission from conceding anything at all to the democratic process. Hearst and the McCormick-Patterson papers are howling bloody murder. But in spite of the jackals, labor and progressive groups are now in a position to hold the Commission to its gesture acknowledging that individuals have certain ordinary civil rights.

What exactly did the Commission do? It instructed its investigators not to ask questions about union membership or union activities of applicants for government jobs, or to pry into an applicant's association with alleged Communists in the unions, since this approach would obviously involve union activities. No questions are henceforth to be asked on attitudes toward Loyalist Spain, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, or various Spanish relief groups. No question is allowed about membership in the Washington Bookshop. Husbands cannot be grilled about wives or wives about husbands. In asking about organizations, investigators cannot gratuitously label them "subversive" or "Communist." No question is permitted involving race, color, creed, or religion. Investigators cannot dredge up information here and there as to whether applicant might be "a Communist Party line conformist." No question is allowed on the applicant's reading matter since "citizens are free to read anything they like," including the *Daily Worker*. No question can be put about mixed parties or association with Negroes. No question is permitted on membership in the National Lawyers Guild, the League of Women Shoppers, the Socialist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Harry Bridges Defense Committee, or other such organizations. No investigator can discuss political philosophy with the applicant, or inquire into his feelings toward capitalism or the profit system; and "snooping" that involves the applicant's intimate personal affairs is not allowed.

These prohibitions represent a tremendous advance over the Commission's practice up to now. Investigators have grilled applicants over whether they were "happy" on reading of Soviet victories on the Eastern Front, or if they ate borsht, or "Do you know —— is a member of the Communist Party affiliated local of the United Federal Workers?" or "Have you contributed money toward the defense of the Communist Harry Bridges?" The Commission's present ruling is a fundamental negation of the Dies technique which too many of its investigators have studied and practiced.

BUT it should also be noted that the Commission accompanied its restrictions with weird instructions on "How to tell a Communist." The Commission had *nothing* to say about how to recognize fascists or Nazis or Japanese sympathizers, and it had no condemnation for anti-Semites, Negro-baiters, or racists (one investigator remarked when informed that a certain employe was virulently anti-Semitic: "Well, I don't see that *that* matters, *lots* of people are"). The Commission concentrated on urging its investigators to ferret out Communists, by remembering that "The earmark of an American Communist today is an advanced degree of patriotism." Also, a Communist is "one who has followed the Communist Party line through one or more changes." For the convenience of investigators, these "changes" can be deduced if an applicant took one or more of the following positions: (1) "The Revolutionary period from 1929 to December 1934." The Commission finds that Communists objected to the depression and condemned monopoly capitalism for failing to make proper provision for the unemployed, the homeless, the oppressed people all over the country. (2) "The Collective Security period, 1935 to August 1939." The Commission warns that the mark of a Communist at this time was the urging of unity among the anti-fascist nations to stop Hitlerism (the Commission points out that the Communists called Hitler a "mad dog") and moreover, Communists were active in condemning Japanese militarism and the aggression against Manchuria and China. (3) "The Communazi [sic] period, August 1939 to June 22, 1941." The Commission angrily finds that Communists urged closer relations with the USSR, condemned Munich imperialism and Chamberlainism, and refused to denounce the German-Soviet non-aggression pact as an "alliance." (4) "The Collective Security period (revived), June 22, 1941 to date." Communists, says the Commission, support the war against fascism too wholeheartedly, offering all possible aid to the war effort.

This indictment would be funny if it did not represent a direct carryover of former Commission attitudes. Under pressure, the Commission backed away from its most flagrant violations of the Constitution. However, it still underwrites the anti-Communism which has been Hitler's most potent weapon in dividing the democratic countries. When the Commission finds it necessary to describe Communists as showing "an advanced degree of patriotism" it brands its anti-Communist nonsense as harmful to the war effort and directed against consistent, energetic anti-fascists.

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WAR AND POSTWAR

Planning for the era after victory. William Z. Foster sets forth the major points for consideration now. The decisive effects of today's war strategy on tomorrow's world.

IN VIEW of the tremendous successes of the Red Army on the Eastern Front, the intensified bombing of German cities, the successful invasion of Italy, the checkmating of the submarine campaign, and the prospect of an early opening of an Anglo-American front in Western Europe, the unity of the three great powers at the Moscow Conference and Teheran, plus optimistic predictions by Allied military and political leaders, the peoples of Great Britain and the United States have become convinced that not only are they going to win the war, but will do so in the not-too-distant future. Their strong belief in victory especially began after the great German defeat at Stalingrad and it has intensified ever since. It is not surprising, therefore, that, together with this victory perspective, the American and British peoples are also interesting themselves deeply in the probable shape-up of the postwar world. They feel that the war is being won and they want to make certain that the peace also will be won.

When the United States was plunged into the war by Japan's treacherous attack at Pearl Harbor the people of this country, fighting for their very existence, were content with the slogan, "A war of survival"; but now, as they see the enemy being beaten, they have raised the sights of their postwar aims. The great democratic mass of the American people are now fighting to make this a better country and world than it was before the present holocaust began. They definitely want to establish a lasting world peace, to abolish political tyranny and to provide a much higher level of mass prosperity. President Roosevelt and Vice-President Wallace, in stressing the "Four Freedoms" and the "Century of the Common Man," are expressing the hope and will of untold millions in this and other countries. As for the great business interests, however, their postwar aims are something else again, and certainly in most cases do not contribute either to world peace or security.

At the present time the American people, all sections of them, are displaying a natural and keen interest in so-called postwar plans, especially those of a domestic character relating to economic reconstruction. There is a widespread fear of an economic collapse upon the conclusion of the war and the various classes are striving as best they can to guard their interests against it. The workers and soldiers are worrying where they will get jobs when the war is finished; the farmers and business men are also wondering what their economic fate will be. Consequently there is "postwar planning" on all sides. The Roosevelt administration has evolved a whole postwar program, and almost every state and important city has its plan of reconstruction. The AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods also have their own more or less well defined programs, and so have all the business men's organizations. Likewise, the churches, fraternal orders, and almost all other types of social organization are displaying a similar interest, while the newspapers and the radio are full of the subject.

THE general matter of postwar economic reconstruction has already grown into a major political question, and its importance is bound to increase during the developing presidential election campaign. The reactionaries, whose isolationist, anti-Russian, defeat-Japan-first policies have been bankrupted by the course of the war, are unable to attack President Roosevelt's foreign policy effectively; so they have made a tongue-in-cheek acceptance of it and are centering their main attack against the President's domestic policies. Shouting the slogan of the restoration of "Free Enterprise" and challenging the whole record of the Roosevelt administration, they are aiming to curb the trade unions, to whittle away our federal social legislation, and to abolish government "interference" in business, whether in the shape of wartime controls or otherwise. The win-the-war forces, while raising the whole question of the war as the central election issue, cannot possibly ignore the domestic postwar implications.

The reactionaries are now driving hard in Congress to achieve as much as they can of their program while the war is still going on, but obviously what they have in mind chiefly is the long term economic situation in the postwar period. Should the Nazis be knocked out of the war before the election, which is very possible, although Japan may still be fighting, the present day postwar reconstruction programs would therefore inevitably be of most fundamental importance to the elections. But even if Germany were not yet completely defeated by next November, our victory perspective would be so much more immediate by that time as to sharpen up very greatly the political significance of the so-called postwar plans of the administration and its big business opposition.

In dealing at the present time with the general question of postwar plans there must always be borne in mind the close interrelation between the war itself and postwar reconstruction. That is to say, on the one hand, the whole shape-up of the postwar world depends upon the outcome of the war, and, on the other hand, postwar problems, by affecting national unity and morale, have profound effects upon the course of the war. Two dangers must, therefore, be guarded against. One, the tendency of Social Democrats and others to focus the people's main attention upon postwar blueprints, and thus cause them to neglect the prosecution of the war; and the other, the tendency to neglect the

Dear Herbert: Thank you so much for what you did for Oswald. Now what about Rudolf?

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postwar issues altogether in the name of more effective concentration upon the winning of the war. The second tendency, hardly less than the first, is detrimental to the war. It also leaves the people unprepared for the postwar period.

After these introductory remarks, let us proceed to a general evaluation of the so-called postwar problems and their relation to the war at the present stage of the struggle.

AN ALL-OUT OFFENSIVE TO WIN THE WAR: The first plank in any platform looking towards the postwar world must be the concentration of every resource upon winning the war. For the whole character of the postwar period will depend directly upon how quickly and how decisively we win the war. Those who are thinking seriously of the postwar period, therefore, must put the question of victory in the forefront of all their considerations. This means that there must be an intensive struggle against the present moods of complacency and expectations of easy victory. It means also that we must support actively the launching of the second front and be prepared to back it up solidly when it comes. It implies, furthermore, that the attempts of the defeatists and profiteers to break down wartime controls and to plunge the country into inflation must be smashed. Price ceilings, rationing, and industry controls must be maintained and strengthened. Production must be speeded up, and all provocation towards strikes, whether by defeatist legislation in Congress, by union-baiting employers, or by the machinations of Lewis elements in the labor movement, must be combated. Every effort must be put forth to stimulate our national war effort and to checkmate the many forces that are seeking to disintegrate it. Unnecessarily prolonging the war would mean more soldier and civilian casualities, and more mass starvation and property destruction; it would also render postwar reconstruction vastly more complicated and difficult. Winning the war, quickly and decisively, therefore, is the first and most important consideration in any postwar program.

ENFORCE THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE DECISIONS: It is of profound importance, in determining the character of the postwar world, to strengthen the bonds between the four great powers, as the foundations of the United Nations, and to enforce and develop constructively both the military policies and the reconstruction measures agreed upon in Moscow. This is the way to win the war and the peace, too. There are in the United States many powerful defeatist elements who, although temporarily knocked off their feet by the enthusiastic mass response to the Moscow agreements, are losing no opportunity to sabotage these agreements. They are striving to continue their anti-British, anti-Soviet agitation in new forms. They are laying every obstacle in the way of establishing democracy in the liberated countries. They will do everything possible to prevent the punishment of the war guilty. And, above all, they will seek, if they see a chance, to arrive at some sort of a negotiated peace with the fascist big business men and army generals of Germany.

If both the war and the peace are to be won and if we are to have a peaceful and democratic postwar world, then it is imperative to develop the strongest possible national unity to overcome all this defeatist sabotage and to enforce the Moscow four-power decisions. All this places a grave responsibility upon organized labor, in the respective capitalist countries and internationally. Labor's power may be decisive. This stresses the enormous importance of the international trade union conference, called for London next June, and the imperative need for all sections of the American labor movement to be represented there.

CONTINUE AND STRENGTHEN THE ROOSEVELT POLICIES: In facing up to the great problems of winning the war speedily and decisively and of building a better postwar world, a basic consideration is to continue and elaborate the Roosevelt policies for the war and the postwar period. A realization of this need is shown in the demand of large sections of the labor movement and, according to the Gallup Poll, fifty-six percent of all voters, for a fourth term for President Roosevelt. It is clear that if the present drive of the defeatist reactionaries, whose main instrument is the Republican Party, should succeed in capturing the presidency in 1944, then the people's present-day hopes for a better postwar world, both nationally and internationally, would be in for drastic revision.

The meaning of the "Free Enterprise" slogan now being widely agitated by the powerful group of Republican reactionaries and Democratic poll-taxers and also by most of the capitalist press, implies an unrestricted rule by the monopolies. A success for the Republican Party, or for a reactionary Democrat, for that matter, in 1944 would constitute a victory of the open shoppers and the bearers of fascism in this country. It would endanger our whole democratic structure and it would make every step towards a national postwar regime, both here and abroad, impossible of success short of a determined mass struggle.

A Republican administration would encourage reaction all over the world. Rampant American imperialism again in the saddle would weaken the foundations of the United Nations and sow seeds for World War III. Such an administration would not insist upon the enemy's unconditional surrender; it would not extinguish fascism in Europe or establish democracy; it would not collaborate loyally with the USSR or Great Britain; it would degenerate our Good Neighbor policy with Latin America. If Hitler were able to prolong the war to that extent he could be practically certain of arriving at some sort of a negotiated peace with a Republican administration and thus save his hide. Nor could a Willkie as president, even if he wanted to, substantially alter this basically reactionary course of the Republican Party.

It is in this sense of extreme urgency, therefore, that the trade unions must work in the developing national election campaign. To make sure that the war is won decisively and a livable postwar period inaugurated, the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods face an imperative need to combine their entire forces in nationwide political activity with other win-the-war elements. Without defeating the reactionary Republican-Democratic poll-taxer offensive, the formulation of progressive postwar plans is only so much idle chatter.

POSTWAR ECONOMIC MEASURES: Together with the above-indicated basic tasks there is also the need to prepare a series of economic measures for the postwar period. Labor, like the nation as a whole, must not allow itself to be caught short in this matter by a possible sudden end of the war.

First, there are the emergency measures necessary to facilitate the immediate change from war to peace conditions. This problem will become acute when Germany collapses, even though Japan still remains fighting. Among the most urgent problems demanding answers prepared beforehand are the reconversion of industry to production for civilian needs and providing jobs for all, the granting of emergency wages to millions of displaced workers, the systematic demobilization, financial protection and job placing of members of the armed forces, the maintenance of rationing and price controls until the change-over has been accomplished, the restoration of the forty-hour week, etc.

There will also be necessary a whole series of measures of a long-range character. Among these, steps must be taken to provide jobs through government works for all those who cannot get employment in private industry, to expand greatly the federal social security system by providing more adequate unemployment, old age, and health insurance for all, to have the government retain the many new wartime plants and to operate them, to work out a broad system of international trade agreements that will encourage world trade upon a new basis, to develop a system of long-term, all-purpose, government foreign loans at low interest rates, etc.

The outlines for many of these measures are already contained in the various proposals made by the administration to Congress, including the postwar plans of the National Resources Planning Board, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for social security, Roosevelt's various proposals on behalf of demobilized soldiers, etc. The

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three great branches of the labor movement should get together, consider all these propositions, formulate a program, and then, placing it in opposition to the reactionary "Free Enterprise" program of the NAM, develop an all-out campaign in support of it from now on in the election campaign. Such a program would dovetail basically with that of the Roosevelt administration. The trouble now in this whole matter is that organized labor has as yet no unified plan of postwar reconstruction. The CIO has not dealt systematically enough with this whole question, and the sketchy program of the AFL, under the stimulus of Matthew Woll, leans altogether too much in the direction of the so-called "Free Enterprise" policies of the reactionaries.

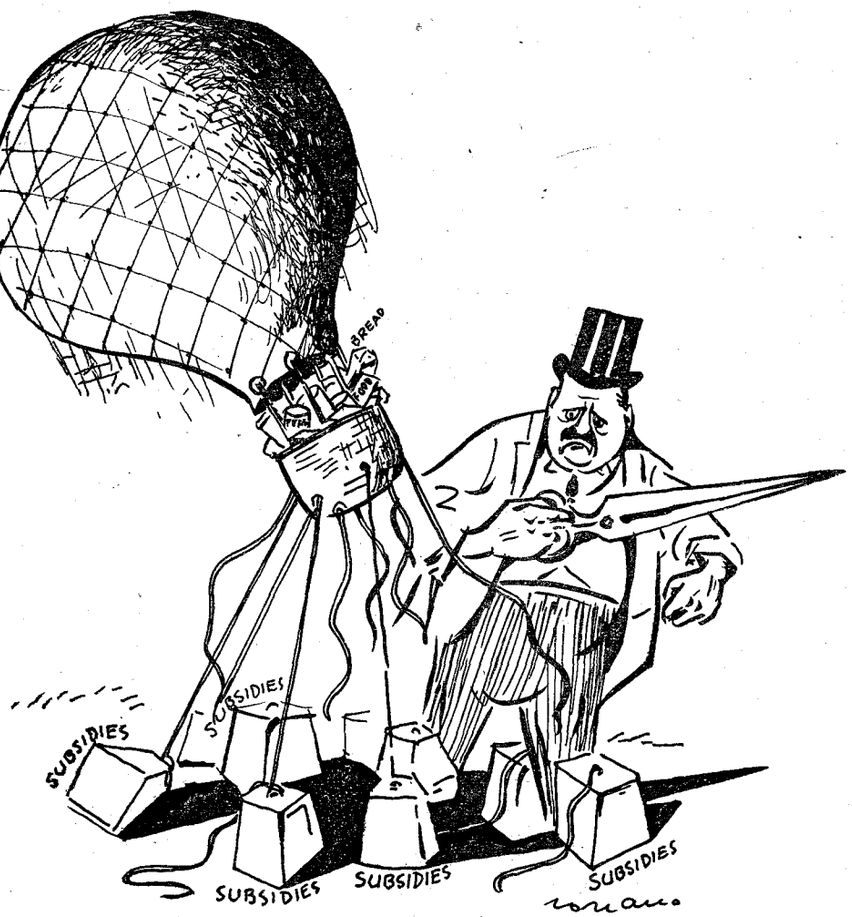
Upon the war's end organized labor will also have to begin to pay real attention to correcting the fundamental evils that have produced these two great wars, plus the long economic crisis, in one generation. Fascism must be defeated economically and politically in this country, as well as militarily on battlefields abroad. This means that the power of monopoly capital, the poison source of fascism all over the world, will have to be drastically curbed and eventually broken. To do this the nationalization of the banks and of such industries as the railroads, coal, and steel is imperative. Nor can the danger of war, fascism, and mass pauperization be finally liquidated in our country until the American people establish socialism. These are great lessons that organized labor must and will learn.

UNITE THE RANKS OF LABOR: Another vital need of organized labor, in order to speed the national war effort and to face responsibly labor's prospective tasks in the postwar period, is to unite and strengthen the trade union movement. This strengthening is necessary now if labor is to give its full backing to the government in prosecuting the war, in protecting the economic interests of all the workers, and if it is to beat the reactionaries in the presidential elections. It is also imperative for the postwar period; because (a) if the win-the-war forces win the elections, labor will need to encompass far larger numbers of workers in order to be able to speak authoritatively for the whole working class; and (b) if the Republican Party should carry the elections, then labor will require every possible ounce of strength to defend itself from the heavy attacks which would then be sure to come. The following are the three major paths along which labor needs urgently to strengthen itself:

(a) *Political unity:* The situation in the war now and in the postwar perspectives, demands that all labor should unite politically. The plan of political action committees worked out by the CIO offers the most practical means to achieve this solidarity. Political unity by labor is needed not only to help carry the presidential elections for the progressive forces, urgent though this task may be, but also so that the workers may pull their full weight politically in the postwar period. After the present elections, therefore, the political organization built up in this struggle must not be allowed to fall to pieces. It must be strengthened and extended, until labor has a real political organization. This election must be understood as American labor's first great stride towards independent political action and organization.

(b) *Organization of the unorganized:* Although the trade unions have in the past decade added some 10,000,000 members to their ranks, there are many millions of workers, the majority in fact, who are still unorganized. These workers are without economic protection in these days of rising prices, and their political strength is undeveloped. The time is now ripe to unite these great masses. Organized labor must no longer content itself with embracing only a portion of the body of workers; its aim now must be to unite and speak for the whole working class.

(c) *Organic trade union unity:* The split in the ranks of organized labor must be healed, and promptly. This disunity has greatly handicapped the progress of the trade unions and it has also hindered the development of our national war effort. It can, if it is not overcome by cooperative political action, bring upon the country the disaster of a Republican victory in the presidential elections. And for the postwar period it is no less full of forebodings. There is no reason, save the narrow craft spirit of the AFL leaders, why the AFL and the CIO should not at once combine their forces. Such unity would inaugurate a new era of progress for labor generally. The first great step in this direction is of developing united political action in the presidential elections. The AFL rank and file especially should insist upon this on the part of their leaders. They should also see to it that this political cooperation should culminate in the organic unity of the whole American trade union movement.



THE foregoing constitute the major considerations that should be borne in mind in looking ahead to the postwar world. Summing them up briefly, they are, to keep constantly in the foreground the all-decisive task of winning the war; to strengthen the bonds among the three great powers of the United Nations and to enforce energetically the Moscow decisions; to strengthen and continue the Roosevelt administration's domestic as well as its foreign policies; to prepare labor's program for the necessary change-over and long-range economic policies for a peace-time economy; and to extend and unite the ranks of labor in order to fulfill its wartime role and to prepare it for the great tasks that will confront the nation in the postwar period.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

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REPORT ON THE SECRET WEAPON

A tale of three cities, as witnessed by Joseph North, shows that Hitler's "hex"—the Red Bogey—isn't what it used to be. . . . Second article in a series on America at war.

Hexerei, they call it in Pennsylvania Dutch country: the slinking belief in witches and devils and in the efficacy of a toad's liver, a beam of moonlight and a strand of hair to ward off evil. Recently in passing through the bright green countryside of Bucks County I came upon a farmer perched high on a ladder, industriously painting a symbol on his richly-stocked barn: a large star inside a circle, which I, as a native Pennsylvanian, knew had charms to frighten away evil spirits. "Think it will do any good?" I called up to the Pennsylvania Dutchman on his ladder. "Well," he replied tartly between lusty strokes of the brush, "Harm it can't do, no?"

HEXEREI is not dead. An entire demonology can be gleaned from the editorial pages of the Chicago *Tribune* and kindred journals. Devils roam their columns led by a latter-day Lucifer, known as Joseph Djugashvili Stalin. He appears in America in many forms, sometimes clad in overalls, sometimes in cap and gown, sometimes in pin-striped trousers. Throughout the land this is not known as hexerei; it's called by the humdrum name of Red-baiting. I prefer the former term, the Teutonic; it jibes with today's foremost practitioner of political voodooism, that ol' witch-doctor, Herr Hitler. How long he conjured up the Red Bogey to hex whole peoples into frightened paralysis! You know the spell: first, hypnotize your prospective victim with the abracadabra that Communism is an evil, the world's worst; second, chant that everybody and everything opposed to fascism is Communist. It works like a charm, Hitler said. It worked—God, how it worked—what blood, what tears, what endless grief it conjured up. It divided Germany and Hitler rose. It divided France and France fell. It threatened to split America, Britain. This political hexerei proved so potent that some call it Hitler's Secret Weapon.

The many years it delayed concerted action against the crafty aggressors! For years it acted as a wedge between the patriots of our nation. For years its most eminent practioner here, Herr Martin Dies, worked the hex and kept many of us eyeing one another suspiciously while the Klan and the Bund toiled industriously. No forward looking citizen was exempt. So long as this device of Hitler's operated, so long would the unity of Americans falter. For the penalty of civic excommunication against Communists never halts there; the proscription continues against all progressives, against all liberals, against all patriotic conservatives. That was the pattern in Germany; it happened in France. It could have happened here.

How is Hitler's secret weapon faring today? What is happening to this political hexerei? Much depends upon the answer to this question; much that deals with national unity, with clarity of thought, with the success of democracy.

WELL, this is what I found on my cross-country tour: let me tell you the tale of Three Cities. They reveal today's trend.

First, the story of Mr. C. H. Coyle, of Berwyn, Illinois, which is really a part of Chicago. It is one of the many sprawling satellites that rings the great metropolis. Mr. Coyle is your solid citizen. He looks like John Q. Public. Middle-aged, medium height, generally in a blue serge suit, you'd miss him in a crowd. Nothing distinctive in his looks, nothing unusual in his talk, he's a lumber merchant and he's made a sizable fortune at it. He's Illinois, way back; Illinois born, Illinois bred. Some people would consider him a rich man; he's not poor.

Being in the lumber business, Mr. Coyle is handy with tools. I met him in shirt-sleeves, saw in hand, squaring the end of a bookcase in the library of the Abraham Lincoln School, in Chicago. This is a really unique institution, dedicated to the proposition that ordinary people like learning so much that they want to continue with books long after the eighth grade. They feel the proper study of man is man, a good credo for democrats. This proposition won the support of many Chicagoans—educators, trade unionists, office-workers, Negro, white. Mr. Coyle is what you would call a public-spirited citizen, a community leader, and he became a director of the school board from the outset. As a director he takes a very personal interest in his job, so much so that when a bookcase had to be built, he pitched in, saw in hand, always discovering some spare time for his institution.

"This is a people's university," Mr. Coyle told me. He feels the people have the right to a working knowledge of all the philosophies; he wouldn't object if that bookcase he was putting together should include the Dean of Canterbury's book on the Soviet Union as well as Churchill's speeches and FDR's state papers. "The motto of the school," the lumber man told me, "might well be expressed in the words of a very old authority. 'Examine all things —hold fast to that which is good.'"

Now Colonel McCormick is currently in a dither about the Lincoln school. You know, Communistic!!! His special writers sharpen their pens on it; the *Trib* editorialists con their thesaurus for the right invective. Its feature writers are busily blackmailing anybody who has had anything to do with sponsoring the school. You see, it stumps for a victory program, endorses FDR's war policy to the hilt. "Here, look this over," Mr. Coyle said, handing me a press statement the school issued a few days before, after a particularly virulent instalment of the colonel's campaign. He pointed to this paragraph: "The Abraham Lincoln School embraces people of many political tendencies united in one objective, namely: education for victory, for the unconditional surrender of fascism, and for the building of a people's peace all over the world. It is no more Communistic than the United Nations itself. The very people who attack the Abraham Lincoln School are the people who are bitterly striving to break up the coalition on which our victory depends and to smash national unity behind our Commander-in-Chief."

WELL, Col. McCormick, in casting about for a handle to swing the issue, hit upon Berwyn's Mr. Coyle, who happens also to be coordinator of civilian defense in Berwyn, a job which he likes and takes as seriously as any of the public assignments his neighbors have foisted upon him these many years.

The *Tribune* publisher insisted that the nation's foundations were threatened by Mr. Coyle. "Get rid of him," the colonel ordered regally. He demanded that Mr. Coyle resign, or that the OCD of Berwyn fire him.

To shorten a long story, Berwyn's defense council held a meeting to consider the *Tribune's* charges. You see for decades Col. McCormick has considered himself the spiritual adviser of that community, which through the years, was traditional Grade A Chicago *Tribune* territory.

Mr. Coyle appeared at the OCD meeting; his presence coincided with that of a determined delegation of a hundred citizens from various community groups. Their feelings toward their coordinator didn't jibe with those expressed by the publisher. The reporters of the city's press were on hand, a good battery of the *Trib's* men too. It looked as if a first-class inquisition would be staged.

Then the little lumber man spoke up. No, he would not resign, come hell or high-water. The *Tribune* campaign was

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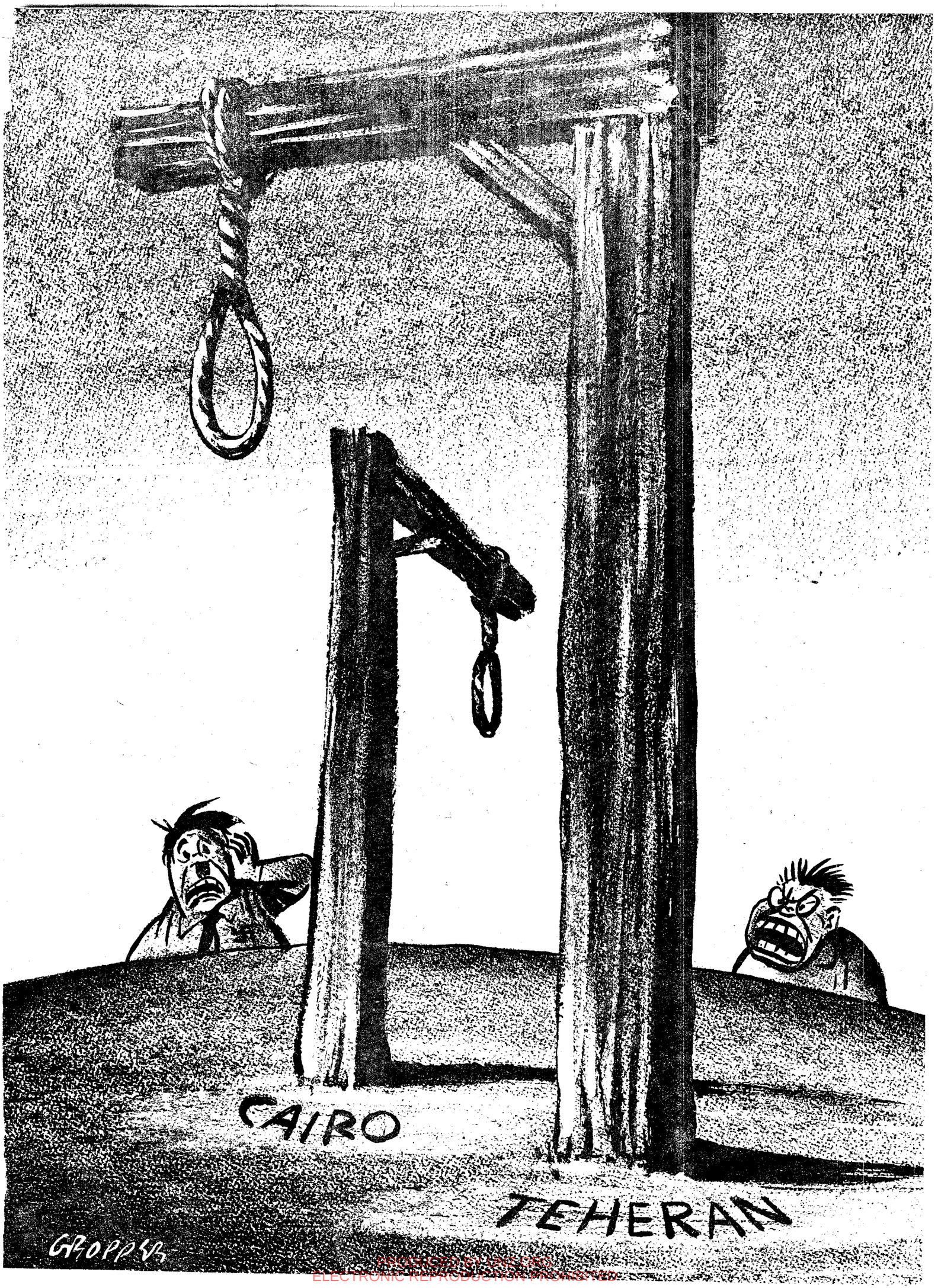

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"an infringement on his rights as a citizen, and an attempt to interject politics into Civilian Defense, which in Berwyn has been free from politics up to now." He outlined the school's aims, comparing them with the principles of the war program and the administration. Furthermore he said, jutting his chin out, that though he happened not to be a Communist, he challenged the right of any organization to deny a man the privilege of being a Communist.

Well, when the meeting ended the Hearst man rushed to the phone to dictate the following story which appeared in the *Herald American*, October 29: "C. H. Coyle, coordinator of civilian defense in Berwyn, accused of being a Communist and whose removal from the OCD was asked, won a vote of confidence from the Berwyn OCD council last night."

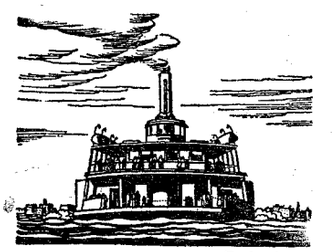
The Chicago *Sun*, that same day, put it this way: "The approval was embodied in a resolution which also instructed Mayor Fred J. Mraz, of Berwyn, to retain Coyle in the coordinator's post. It was introduced by Frank Broucek, a member of the OCD council, who concluded: 'I might add that we should tell the Chicago *Tribune* to go to blazes.'"

That's about the story, except this: such happenings had never been witnessed in Berwyn hitherto. It was the first defeat Col. McCormick suffered there. When Mr. Coyle finished telling me this story, he closed the school scrapbook which carried the clippings I quote above, and he begged to be excused. He had some work to finish, he said. He had promised the librarian the bookcase would be done that afternoon, and it was getting late. I watched him leave the room, in shirt-sleeves and vest, and in a few moments I heard him sawing away. As I was leaving, I looked in on him, finishing up his bookcase. There was a newspaper spread on the floor to catch the shavings. Yes, it was the Chicago *Tribune*.

Fort Wayne, Indiana.

THE country abounds in empires and capitals. Here in Indiana's metropolis, Indianapolis, I got the sense of power, of scope, of America's dynamics: these midland giant cities have little to apologize to New York for. Everywhere you find the same populous centers of town; the same cluster of skyscrapers; the roaring factory; the onrushing crowds. Every city boasts its distinctive greatness, its own impressive contribution to our national wealth, our common culture. I felt the great monument to the Civil War dead in the heart of Indianapolis sums up its might and its credo. "The Union . . . Freedom. . . ." As we stood on the steps of the monument now guarded by bluejackets, swarming with soldiers, my friend, a native of Indianapolis, said: "And you know, not many moons ago the Grand Kleagle Stephenson had a big voice in this state until they tucked him away in jail for murder. Reaction rode hard. Many parts of Indiana remind you of the deep South; lots of Southerners came here and brought their old ways with them." But it's not the Klan state today, he said. And he told me the story of the CIO state convention at Fort Wayne, the other day. When he finished, I agreed with him. After that story I doubt if the horsemen of reaction can ever ride hard again through fertile Indiana.

Spokesmen for a quarter million workingmen convened at Fort Wayne; you should have seen them, my friend said; black men, white men, women, Poles, Italians, Ukrainians from the steel of Gary; native Indianans from war industry in Evansville, South Bend, Terre Haute, Indianapolis. Some of them undoubtedly men who studied the "doctrine" of the kleagles a few years back.



Rockwell Kent

"What struck me most," my friend said, "was the spirit of democratic discussion. Nobody took anything for granted. They wanted to examine everything to think things out for themselves." The convention, characteristically enough, opened with a vote of non-concurrence in the officers' report; not that they disagreed basically with the findings, as their subsequent deliberations proved, they simply wanted to discuss some of those conclusions in open forum.

Toward what end did they deliberate? For what did they strive, in their vehement expression, their natural eloquence rich with the varied dialects? Chiefly, my friend said, they sought unity. That word, let me tell you, is not threadbare; it is freighted with utmost significance throughout the land. And here, in the home state of that great working man Eugene V. Debs the term came most honorably. Prophetically he had said, decades ago, "This is the age of organization. Everything depends upon solidarity. Your power is in unity." The sons of Indiana were hearkening.

Typical was their immediate concern for political action: they sensed the urgency of the time, leaped to their obligations, adopted a program. Good organizers, in an "age of organization," they fixed individual responsibility for achieving the decisions. They began at the beginning: every ward, every congressional district would be mobilized. They foresaw that victory in '44 required the coalition of all patriots—labor itself could not carry the day. A Negro rose to stress the importance of winning his people's support; a gangling farmer's son warned against overlooking the countryside. A woman rose to propose joint meetings throughout the state in collaboration with the AFL, the Railroad Brotherhoods. Another reiterated the vital importance of involving the entire community; to leave no voter for the enemy. Yes, unity with all the people who mean democracy when they say it.

IN THIS framework of discussion, they sought out every obstacle to coalition, to solidarity. "Much of the discussion then developed about the issue of Negro discrimination," my friend related. A white delegate from Elkhart, Ind., speaking with the drawl of southern Indiana, rose: "I come from a plant where the local union had a majority of Negroes. Two Negroes and two whites were nominated as delegates to this convention. Who do you think was elected? The two whites. Let this be a lesson to you who fall for the propaganda that Negroes want to take over the union. Shame on you who think so. Shame on you." The hall was silent. "You are responsible and only you can change this state of affairs. And you are changing them," he said. "Before the CIO came to our plant, we had riots. White men attacked black men. Blood flowed between the machines of our plant. Since the CIO came in there has been none." The demonstration that followed the Elkhart man's words brought tears to many eyes in the hall. Yes—unity: the men and women of the Midwest voted unanimously for international trade union unity.

Inevitably, my friend said, they came to the issue of Red-baiting. The striver for unity cannot avoid decision on this score. Hitler had seen to that. A delegate arose to recall that thrice efforts had failed to organize the biggest General Motors plant in the state, at Allison. The Red Bogey had done the job. "The company rigged up the Red issue to divide us: despite the anti-Communist clause in the constitution of the Indiana CIO and of the United Automobile Workers, we got licked. We never met the issue head-on; we always skirted it, and the company was able to put the argument on a false basis. They confused the workers, broke up the unity we needed to win."

Thus the union's constitutional clause barring Communists, Nazis, and fascists from holding office came up on the floor. My friend thumbed through his papers, found the resolution in question, read me this section: "This (the constitutional) provision pretends to ban fascists and Nazis from holding office but in reality it helps the fascists by giving them the right to join the CIO. This constitutional provision is a concession to Red-baiters and violates the basic principles of the CIO to guarantee equal rights in membership regardless of race, creed and political opinion."

When the resolution was read, a delegate arose: "I would shoot any Nazi or

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fascist I could," he said. "We are at war against fascism. We are killing fascists. They have no place as members of our union, yet this clause not only places them, wrongly, in the same category with Communists, but gives them the legal right to become members of the union." Another added that the convention had acknowledged the great achievements of the Russian army and that in that great land the Communist Party is the domniant force. To confuse fascism with Communism, he said, is an insult to the intelligence, is incompatible with the efforts to attain and strengthen unity.

Thereupon one of the state CIO leaders asked permission to speak: he is a well-known Republican. He had run, as everybody knows, a number of times for the state legislature on the GOP ticket. Did that prevent the union's enemies from charging him with Communism, he asked oratorically. No, and he was sick and tired of being Red-baited. The charge is made only to split labor. "Eliminate the clause from the constitution," he thundered.

A delegate rose thereupon to argue doggedly: there isn't anything harmful in the clause; if anybody wished to charge an officer with being a Communist, the constitution requires that the charge be proved. Why all the fuss? The Republican replied heatedly: that was not the point. The issue, brother, is that you've got to prove you are *not a Communist.* That's the point. And what honest trade unionist today can prove he isn't? "I'm a Republican," he said, "yet I could never prove I'm not a Communist." This is not an issue in defense of Communists, he said—it's an issue in defense of unionism.

The result: the Red-baiting clause was overwhelmingly defeated. Now, my friend said, "This is a landmark in labor history. Mind you, I'm not boasting because it happened in Indiana. I'm proud, however, that it did. But I tell you all this because I believe there's a lesson in it for all America. If the new workers in this state could see the issue so clearly, then the more experienced workers all over America must come to the same conclusion—and fast."

And not workers alone, I thought; I wished that some of my liberal friends could have attended the Fort Wayne convention. "Your power is in unity," Gene Debs had said. He didn't say, workers only.

Los Angeles.

STATE Congressman Jack Tenney, of California, once wrote a song. Remember "Mexicali Rose"? That was his. A modest contribution to our national culture, but a contribution nonetheless. The legislator undoubtedly knows the meaning of the word culture.

So, let's admit that Congressman Tenney doesn't reach for his Mauser when he hears the dirty word. But he does reach for the phone to call the Hearst city desk. Congressman Tenney didn't like the recent Writers Congress which was held on the Westwood campus of the University of California. True, the congress was a cultural landmark, many felt, but the congressman knew better.

It was subversive! It was a Red plot. Mr. Tenney paraphrased Dr. Goebbels in the four big Hearst papers on the coast. The congressman indicated that he, at any rate, wasn't being taken in by the congress. That Dr. Robert G. Sproul, president of the University of California, delivered the welcoming message at the congress didn't faze him one bit. Nor that Dr. Sproul read a message from President Roosevelt; nor that greetings came from the spokesmen of the United Nations; nor that Major Alpheus Smith of the US Army spoke; nor that Walter White, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spoke; nor that Owen Lattimore of the Office of War Information spoke; nor that Lieut.-Col. Evans Carlson of the US Marine Corps spoke.

It was subversive!

Proof? Read the credo adopted by the writers. It's r-r-revolution! Here's a section: "The third principle of the Writers' Credo is the obligation to understand and reflect the great optimistic unity and moral strength of the American people. The necessities of war have taught us an old and forgotten truth—a truth lost in the cynicism of the roaring twenties and the bitterness of the depression years—the truth that patriotism is a deep reality, an expression of the common man's profound and reasoned faith in our democratic way of life. We had come to regard patriotism as a familiar and undistinguished virtue. The memory of Valley Forge and Gettysburg had become dim and without power to move us. But the war had brought us a new affirmation of our tradition, a sense of the continuity of American life from Bunker Hill to Bataan, a deep community of purpose between the men who crossed the Delaware on that desperate Christmas evening in 1776 and the men who moved across the Mediterranean in the summer of 1943."

I don't know what you may think of the Writers' Credo: I feel that it is one of the most moving, truthful, patriotic declarations of today. That's my opinion, maybe it's yours.

But it's definitely not Congressman Tenney's. So the Hearst press beat the drums, warned the populace the Barbarians were coming, the Reds were riding again.

But a regrettable thing happened. The congress took place; its findings were studied by writers, educators, artists, public figures, and plain people throughout the land, throughout the world. The congress' sponsors callously ignored the public services of Mr. Tenney and Mr. Hearst. Dr. Sproul even issued a sharp statement denouncing these self-appointed guardians of our national culture. The congress met: American culture stood a head higher for it. And the composer of "Mexicali Rose" didn't appear at even one panel.

WHAT this all adds up to? This: a rapidly growing awareness in America that Hitler's political hexerei is deadly. This recognition is blunting the keen edge of his secret weapon. Is blunting, I say. I put it in the progressive, rather than the past tense. Superstition dies hard. But its effectiveness is many notches lower. The Moscow conference, which hadn't taken place yet while I was gathering these facts, will further help lay the ghost. But ultimately, the job is up to Americans, up to all clear thinking patriots who realize the menace of Red-baiting to all honest men.

I like the October 17 editorial in the Chicago *Sun,* which registers an awareness of this danger rare in the public prints. "The little groups of hate-mongers, self-styled nationalists and ill-disguised fascists," it says, "have at least one thing in common —a determination to substitute the circulation of prejudice and falsehood for the free discussion characteristic of a democracy.

"Faithfully following their Axis propaganda, these groups operate on the basically anti-rational assumption of fascism. They seek to influence the political behavior of the American people, not by reason nor even by rational appeals to self-interest, but by arousing the basest instincts of primitive fear and hatred. They hate Jews, they hate Communists, they hate 'international bankers.'" They hate Russia Britain, Roosevelt, and Willkie. They hate this war and everything American boys are dying for."

And the *Sun* editors conclude: "The answer to this slander on the dignity of democratic citizens must come from the common sense of reasonable men."

(But Hitler's secret weapon is double-barrelled: it includes the spurious dogma of racism. In a subsequent article. I shall deal with that.)

So, you see, there is the status of Hitler's Red Bogey today. Since I have returned, other evidence comes to hand: the election of Benjamin Davis, Jr., and Peter Cacchione to New York City Council; the 47,000 votes for the Communist school-board candidate in Cleveland, and similar high polls elsewhere. Americans are learning that the Communists are an integral factor in national unity; Hitler's hex is wearing off. I wish I could say that about certain liberals and labor leaders in the land; for some reason these men still operate trance-like under the spell of the Red Bogey abracadabra. It is high time they catch up with history.

They don't belong on the ladder—like my Pennsylvania Dutch friend—painting the hex sign of anti-Communism. The witches and devils are gone from the glen.

JOSEPH NORTH.

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THE NEGRO IN THE WAR

He is stepping out of his old "place" into his rightful one in American life. The fate of Jim Crow under the blows of anti-fascist battle. By Doxey A. Wilkerson.

Two years of war have brought significant changes in the relations of the Negro people to America. Our nation's past struggles against the deadly Axis enemy abroad and against its traitorous helpers here at home, and especially the bitter struggles on both fronts which loom immediately ahead, have placed the "Negro Question" on the agenda for early and basic solution. The progressive liberation of the Negro people is now urgently required to assure the freedom of our nation as a whole. It is also entirely possible.

During the period immediately following Pearl Harbor, the Negro people were struggling to redefine their relations to this war. In common with millions of other Americans, many Negroes were still somewhat confused by the sharp turn in world history which the events of the preceding June 22 had brought about.

Even in the late spring of 1942, there were widespread doubts among the Negro people as to what this war meant to them. "An imperialist war cannot help to free the Negro." "Why fight fascism in Germany when we have fascism right here in America?" "This is a white man's war in which the Negro has no stake." "Those little yellow Japanese sure are giving the whites the good beating they deserve." Such expressions were then common in the Negro community.

These early doubts and confusion have largely been cleared away. The great mass of Negroes now know that this is *their* war, that an Axis victory would plunge the Negro people into a fascist slavery far worse than their forefathers ever knew. They sense that of necessity the war has had to assume a liberating character which promises increased freedom for the Negro and all other oppressed peoples. They reject the Axis propaganda that fascist Japan is fighting for "the colored peoples of the world."

There still are a few George S. Schuylers and A. Philip Randolphs among the Negro people, but their defeatist, anti-war "leadership" now has no substantial mass base. Negro Americans are overwhelmingly in support of their country's struggle for survival.

ALONG with their growing support of the nation's war effort—indeed, largely because of it—the Negro people have developed a new and militant determination to win greater freedom for themselves in the very course of the war. Traditional Jim Crow barriers formerly taken for granted are now vigorously challenged. On the trains and street cars of the South, in industrial plants throughout the nation, in lily-white theaters and restaurants, in the armed forces, in the affairs of government, the Negro people are stepping out of the "place" which custom has set aside for the darker brother of our land. They are demanding *now* an ever larger share of the democracy which their brawn and brains and blood are called upon to defend. Fortified by the knowledge that their cause is not only just, but also necessary for the wartime strength of the nation, the Negro people are definitely on the march toward greater freedom.

During the two years since Pearl Harbor, many white friends and allies of the Negro people have likewise cleared away much of their early doubts and confusion about the wisdom of wartime struggles for Negro freedom. There was a period when many sincere liberals and some progressives, in their concern and desire for national unity, neglected the democratic bases upon which alone it could be built. Especially was there a tendency to soft-pedal campaigns for Negro rights, on the ground that such struggles must now give way to the larger life-and-death struggle of the nation as a whole.

This false assumption was never more strikingly challenged than in Earl Browder's Madison Square Garden address in July 1942. He then declared: "The Communist Party supports these demands of the Negro people unconditionally, and we declare that they must be granted now, at once—precisely in the interests of national unity, of using every productive force for winning the war. Support for the war requires support for the demands of the Negro people, and not silence on these demands or their denial."

There still remain the die-hard reactionaries and the John Temple Graves II type of liberals, who continue to press for a moratorium on the fight for Negro rights. But most of the progressive forces of our country are coming rapidly to see the Negro's struggle for freedom as an integral and necessary part of the nation's struggle for survival.

THE wartime changes in the Negro's relations to America are not restricted to ideology alone. Striking qualitative changes are under way in the economic, social, and political life of the country. Indeed, as Frederick Douglass said of a similar development eighty years ago, "the revolution is tremendous."

Hundreds of thousands of Negro men and women are now employed in industrial and civil service jobs from which they have traditionally been barred. The War Labor Board has handed down the historic decision that the wages of white and Negro workers must be equal. The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, born just as the war took its great liberating turn in the summer of 1941, has lived through two serious crises during the past nine months and now moves stronger than ever to the performance of its crucial tasks.

The Jim Crow barriers in public conveyances and places of assembly are being subjected to terrific strain, and here and there they are cracking. The Negro presidents of the republics of Liberia and Haiti are feted with all the ceremony and acclaim that the White House can command. Even our laggard Department of Justice finds it necessary to move against the dual curse of peonage and lynching.

Negro men are now fighting for their nation's freedom in every branch of the armed forces. In the Merchant Marine, mixed white and Negro crews sail their Liberty ships through submarine-infested seas under the command of Negro captains. Even the Air Corps, the Army's Judge Advocate, and the traditionally lily-white Navy have been forced to admit Negro Americans into their service.

The Negro people are also winning new friends and allies and forging new relationships with the progressive political forces of our country. There appear a Henry Wallace, an Eleanor Roosevelt, and a Pearl Buck boldly to champion the cause of Negro freedom. In the trade union movement, especially in the great and democratic industrial unions of the CIO, new bonds of comradeship are being formed between white and Negro workers. As was most strikingly demonstrated at the recent CIO Convention, the power of organized labor is being thrown more and more into the struggle for Negro rights.

Of especial significance is the growing acceptance by the Negro people of the Communist Party as their main political instrument of struggle toward freedom. Nearly 5,000 Negroes joined the Party during the 1943 spring recruiting drive alone. In last month's councilmanic elections in New York City, for the first time in the history of the nation, a Negro Communist was elected to public office.

THESE progressive changes in the status and relationships of the Negro people result primarily from the iron necessities of war. They reflect also the progressive war

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aims which the spokesmen of our country have been forced to proclaim. Especially are they a product of the increasing struggles of the Negro people themselves, and of their closer alignment with the progressive forces of our nation in the developing national front for victory.

There is much yet to be done. The remaining racial bars to full Negro employment in war production must be blasted completely from our economic life. The power of government must be turned far more vigorously to the destruction of enemy plots to disrupt the war effort through deliberately inspired anti-Negro riots. Poll tax barriers to the political expression of win-the-war sentiments in the Deep South must be removed. Demoralizing and weakening Jim Crow practices in the armed forces must be uprooted completely. The full civil rights of the Negro people must be firmly established throughout the land.

This unfinished business of American democracy has now been thrust on the order of the day by the urgent necessities of war. The progressive forces which have pushed forward their achievements during the past two years must now move with increasing vigor to complete the job. The necessity arises not solely from the demands of democratic fair play; it is an imperative requirement of victory.

At the end of our second year of war our nation is confronted with the most stupendous tasks of its history. There must be full implementation of the progressive Moscow Conference agreements to shorten the war and organize a just and durable peace. Our home front must be consolidated to support the major military struggles which lie ahead. Especially must a win-the-war government be returned to power in the elections of 1944.

Arrayed in opposition to these goals are powerful forces of reaction at home and abroad. The German and Japanese war machines are tremendously dangerous still. The defeatist-appeaser cabal within our country is redoubling its efforts to save the Axis from decisive defeat. They still hope to disrupt the United Nations coalition through vicious attacks upon our British and Soviet allies. They seize upon every available issue to demoralize and weaken our home front. Concentrating upon the Republican Party as their main political instrument, they are determined to establish a pro-fascist, imperialist government in America in 1944.

These are the gigantic struggles which loom for the period immediately ahead. Upon their outcome will depend, not only the future freedom of the Negro people, but also the freedom of our entire nation and the world.

The glorious achievements thus far of United Nations arms, especially of the great Red Army, have created all the preconditions for a quick and decisive Allied victory in Europe, followed by the certain defeat of Japan. A firm coalition of progressive Democrats, organized labor, and the Negro people can assure the defeat of reaction here at home, the full implementation of the Moscow Conference agreements, and the triumph of the win-the-war forces in the coming elections. The quickest possible cementing of that coalition is now the most urgent requirement of the day. The Negro people have much at stake in the fulfillment of this task. They also have a crucial role to play.

Thus, in the decisive struggles which lie ahead, as during the past two years of this war, the dominant goals of the Negro people and those of the nation are mutually interdependent. The two are now inseparably merged; both must move forward together.

DOXEY A. WILKERSON.

SLINGS AND ARROWS

The War Department's tremendous picture "Battle of Russia," is suffering at the hands of local censors. Pennsylvania cut out all Nazi atrocity scenes: too many Germans in Pennsylvania? Boston banned the picture altogether for a period. And no one at all may see one of the most needed scenes: the animated map showing and stating why "it was necessary for the security of the Soviet Union" to enter some of the Baltic states and defeat the Mannerheim Finland forces. "In an effort to defend herself Soviet Russia had to move in," the picture explained. "These states were part of her security zone." That section was entirely cut from the picture before it was nationally released, though the men in the armed forces had the benefit of it.

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Chester A. Arthur III, grandson of President Arthur, has joined the Merchant Marine and the National Maritime Union. Recently he was spied at the Plaza bar in his blue mariner's sweater. Arthur was a poet and editor in California, and in the past few years has worked very hard with the Democratic State Committee.

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Scoop! Item in Leonard Lyons' column, "The Lyons Den," New York "Post," November 23: "Ruth McKenney, author of 'My Sister Eileen,' has named her new-born baby Eileen. . . ." How long does a baby stay "new-born"? If Lyons read NEW MASSES regularly (advt.), he would have learned of the baby's birth from our Dec. 29, 1942 issue. Little Eileen is now eleven months old.

The influential magazine of the Soviet trade unions, "War and the Working Class," has paid a high tribute to an American book. It has begun publishing excerpts from Max Werner's "Attack Can Win the War in 1943."

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Jean Muir, one of the founders of the Hollywood anti-Nazi League, becomes a Broadway producer soon with a Russian comedy of domestic life. Her next venture Miss Muir will direct herself.

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Robert Magidoff, NBC correspondent at Moscow, has returned with a play about Russia. Like the Russians, he felt he must put into an art form the tremendous experiences he has had in the USSR.

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Hitler in his last speech mentioned with approval "an article in an American newspaper which showed how devoted are the German women to Nazism." This article was by Countess R. G. Waldeck and appeared in the "Saturday Evening Post." Countess Waldeck, the former Rosi Goldschmidt, is the author of the book "Meet Mr. Blank" (reviewed in the November 16 NM), a not too subtle plea for a deal with the "good" Nazis.

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This column recently stated that Richard Wright's short novel, "The Man Who Lived Underground," would be published by Viking. We now learn that it will appear in "Cross-Section," an anthology of new American writing, edited by Edwin Seaver, which will appear under the imprint of L. B. Fischer in the spring.

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STARCH IN THE WHITE COLLAR

Why Arthur Krock and his friends weep like crocodiles over the economic plight of the office and professional worker. Lewis Merrill examines the real problems and the solution.

"I weep for you," the Walrus Said:
"I deeply sympathize."
With sobs and tears he sorted out
Those of the largest size,
Holding his pocket-handkerchief
Before his streaming eyes.

"O Oysters," said the Carpenter,
"You've had a pleasant run!
Shall we be trotting home again?"
But answer came there none—
And this was scarcely odd, because
They'd eaten every one."

THE American press has broken out in a rash of discussion on the plight of the unorganized white collar workers. With this they have lumped also a discussion about the unsolved wage problems of the unorganized manual workers in many miscellaneous industries. This group, numbering some 16,000,000 has been ignored while, they assert, the organized workers are getting the gravy, protected by an "inflationary" (!) Little Steel formula. Of course, the intent is not to correct the conditions creating these grievances but to exploit them. The aim of the discussion is to put the blame on the government and to create hostility against organized labor. Using this whipped-up sentiment they will try to block the acceptance of the wage proposals being currently put forward, particularly by the CIO, and to improve the strategic position of reactionary interests in their drive to win the 1944 elections.

It is in keeping with the New York *Times'* reluctant and spotty support of the war that it was used as the bellwether to the kept-press flock. It was the *Times* which, through a series of "news" articles by Louis Stark, in a column by Arthur Krock, and a two-column editorial—all within three days—gave the lead to scores of newspapers and journals throughout the country, all of whom suddenly announced their readiness to champion the cause of the salaried workers. A dozen radio commentators, headed by Gabriel Heatter, have warmed up the same messy hash being dished out in the newspapers. From here on until November 1944 we can expect that this ardent wooing will continue though, of course, in varying forms. Anti-labor interests behind this campaign are hardly likely to content themselves merely with huzzahs in the press and on the radio.

It is no accident that the line of this barrage had been anticipated by many weeks in the pages of the *American Banker* and in the releases of the Commerce and Industry Association, as well as the National Association of Manufacturers. The Arthur Krock proposal of one-purpose organizations to be formed purely to make application to the National War Labor Board for salary increases is deceptively innocent. As a result of the Frey amendment to the appropriations bill for the National Labor Relations Board the procedure is provided for imposing widespread company unionism among white collar workers. (This amendment provides that funds for maintenance of the NLRB cannot be used to upset a collusive contract or hold an election where such a contract has been in operation for three months and has been posted on the bulletin board.) This is a natural derivative of the attitude actively advocated in many business journals over the past months. Reaction is moving with the utmost deliberation on this question.

Lewis Merrill

THE actual facts are contrary to the position of the New York *Times* and company. The main reason for the present condition of the white collar workers since the shift-over to a war economy has been the wrecking of the President's seven-point economic program. It is entirely in keeping that the *Times* is opposed to the new wage proposals of the CIO and also opposed to subsidies—both being intended to restore the practical conditions for realization of economic stabilization.

The contention of the New York *Times* that the Little Steel formula and the administrative practices of the National War Labor Board are responsible for the harsh situation of the white collar workers is simply not true. The failure of the board lies in its endeavor to put into operation wage policies that are not realistic. It in turn is circumscribed in its conduct by War Mobilization Director James Byrnes and Director of Economic Stabilization Fred M. Vinson. A change in fundamental policy is required, not merely one of administrative practice. However, if the board's administration procedures were improved and speeded up, it would be of major help to the salaried workers.

The Little Steel formula is not "spurious" as a stabilization device because it grants wage increases. It is spurious because it prevents wages from maintaining a harmonious relationship to other economic factors. The present effort of labor to substitute a sound wage policy in place of the present restrictive wage practices is in the interest of the white collar workers and offers their best chance to get a sound salary policy put into effect.

There is a pressing need for revision of present policies governing salary payments to the white collar workers. In recent times, drastic changes have taken place in the economy and social status of the white collar workers. The war economy sharpened already existing long term factors, steadily depressing their position in the nation. I will not discuss this here, since a full statement is available in my recent pamphlet, *A Salary Policy to Win the War*, which points out: (a) The economic status of white collar workers is getting worse in relation to the remainder of the population. (b) The salaried payments of white collar workers are insufficient for the maintenance of maximum health and efficiency. (c) The inferior economic position of white collar workers threatens economic stability, and a weak salary structure made permanent through wartime practices would threaten our future prosperity. (d) The unsatisfied salary demands of white collar workers result in increased production costs. (e) An inadequate salary structure results in capriciousness in the utilization of white collar manpower. The pamphlet also presents a series of proposals for correction of these conditions.

The failure to integrate the white collar workers into the war effort has intensified changes already taking place in the political and social thinking of these workers. Their respect for labor and their reliance upon it have been increasing during the war. They have shown themselves quickly responsive to all policies put forward by labor which clearly strengthen the nation. The fact that the outcome of the war will decide the fate of the common people has been an activizing factor of vital importance. More and more it has caused them to look upon President Roosevelt and

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the policies he represents as their best guarantee of government "of, by, and for the people."

THE white collar unions include: (CIO) State, County and Municipal Workers of America—50,000 members (about forty percent white collar); United Federal Workers—14,000; American Newspaper Guild—18,000; the United Retail and Wholesale Employes of America—80,000 (about sixty percent white collar); the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians—5,000; the United Office and Professional Workers of America—50,000; (AFL) Miscellaneous Federal Locals—4,500; American Federation of Teachers—30,000; American Federation of Government Employes—15,000; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes—35,000; American Federation of Musicians—100,000. Although these unions exercise an extraordinary influence on employment and salary standards, they have not been able to become the organizational channel for the correction of the economic grievances of more than a small fraction of the 10,000,000 salaried workers. However, substantial and extremely significant organizational progress has been registered recently. In addition, there are increasing instances of non-labor and professional groups moving toward thoroughgoing collaboration with labor generally and the white collar unions in particular. The most notable example was the National Wartime Conference, held this year, which was called together on the initiative of the YWCA, the American Association of Scientific Workers and the United Office and Professional Workers of America. Some one hundred national organizations were represented with a total membership of one million. The continuing committee established by the conference ensures increasing collaboration for mutual aims in the future.

REACTION has not been slow to read the meaning of these events. The reactionaries have been much quicker, it should be noted, than the labor and progressive movement generally. If, as they hope and are working to achieve, the 1944 election is decided against labor and progressive government in advance by the failure of both the Democratic and Republican parties to nominate a progressive candidate, then they are sitting pretty. If labor and its allies are able to build up a real movement for President Roosevelt or a candidate who would carry his policies forward, then their effort will be to hobble this rising movement by keeping it under constant attack. Thus, they figure, at worst the balance of forces in the country will be fairly evenly divided. Historically in this type of situation reaction has relied upon the support of the urban middle classes, *among whom the white collar workers are a key element*, to provide them with the edge necessary for political victory. Therefore reaction cannot stand idly by while the white collar workers move over into the progressive camp. This is particularly true in view of the developing crisis in the entire middle class. To check and reverse this trend becomes for them a task of paramount importance. It is also consonant with their need to keep labor and its allies on the defensive. Thus the sudden concern about the "poor" white collar worker.

However, the fact that reactionary forces have this aim does not mean they can achieve it easily. It is quite clear that they do not yet know how to provide themselves with a mass base among the salaried workers. They are doing their best to repair this deficiency.

The failure to achieve economic stabilization is serving to convince the white collar worker that there is no course open short of membership in a trade union. This does not mean that he is ready to create unions spontaneously. It does mean that where a union already is in being and is promoting its program successfully the white collar workers in vast numbers are ready to take up that program and fight for it. This development has at once filled the reactionaries with alarm and excited their political cupidity. It has filled them with alarm particularly because the new CIO wage policy announced in November, calling for necessary adjustments to bring wages into balance with other economic factors and thus permit the renewal of the drive for genuine stabilization, has peculiar appeal to salaried workers as to all other "fixed income" groups. The companion announcement by the CIO of full-scale financial support for its political program, a program openly encouraged by Vice-President Wallace when he spoke to the CIO convention in Philadelphia, is also extremely significant. In fact, the entire trend of the decisions made at the CIO convention offer the guarantee that labor will influence the thinking and actions of the white collar workers on all the practical questions of the day, whether or not it is able to win them organizationally. In either event, the basis is now present for a mass swing by the salaried workers to the labor movement.

The reactionary ballyhoo is an effort to contend with this fact, to blunt the appeal of labor, particularly of its wage proposals. Its frenzy is a glowing tribute to the effectiveness of the CIO program and its appeal to the entire people. The average citizen is growing to understand this program as strengthening the nation to meet every trial, whether of war or peace.

The broad press and radio campaign which has sought to twist the meaning of the CIO's program and smear its wage proposals as fundamentally antagonistic to the white collar workers is not, we see, merely an exercise in the semantics of distortion. It is an effort to overcome reaction's current weakness. It is also an effort to probe the responses of the white collar workers and learn how to use their economic grievances and social frustrations to advance more certainly reaction's chances in the 1944 elections. This present propaganda orgy is merely a curtain raiser. In the future there will be less fanfare and more real damage.

THAT this type of anti-people's conspiracy automatically becomes anti-war in its effect is shown by the speed with which the defeatist press has seized upon the issue. This deliberate rupture of national unity consequently threatens the military outcome. It is due to nothing less than a decision by at least a section of the employers to detach themselves from the fight for a national victory, which is the first obligation of every loyal American, and to seek a purely class victory in the 1944 elections, which they are making *their* paramount obligation. They comfort their consciences with the belief that military victory is already here. That the conditions for it are present, no one will deny. In fact, certain victory can be snatched from our grasp only if we become diverted from our true national tasks in the very fashion that reaction is thus proposing.

Reaction's strategy with respect to the white collar workers can be met only by a program which provides for taking up and solving the economic problems of salaried workers, professionals, and other unorganized groups. In some instances, direct legislative remedies, as in the case of government workers, should be sought on a wide scale. But by and large, especially for the 500,000 white collar workers employed in basic industry, these problems can be met only by an intensive organizing campaign. A correct salary policy would register more directly with these 500,000 workers. Its benefits would be more quickly apparent to the country and would encourage its wider application to commercial employees and other groups.

Every organizing campaign must have as one of its main aims the encouraging of a broad wage movement among salaried workers. Obviously this would in no way detract from the main fight of the industrial unions. The struggle of the industrial unions is the decisive one, since it ensures labor's proper role in the nation and the strength that accrues to the country as a result. A broad wage movement among salaried workers strengthens the fight of the industrial unions. It enables them to outflank their enemies who are trying to recruit the white collar workers against labor. This is a problem, therefore, of the entire organized labor movement. The emphatic numerical growth which can result if labor takes up this problem in its full scope can serve as an additional organizational stimulus among all strata of workers.

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IF THE labor movement is to be won promptly to these tasks, all of us who view this problem properly have a major job to do. The entire labor-progressive movement has underestimated developments among the white collar workers and the significance to the nation of their special problem. As a consequence, the labor-progressive movement has not done all it could to help. Frequently, its bland indifference has served to dishearten and demobilize organized white collar workers. Thus the movement is not only deprived of major strength, but this strength is made available to its enemies.

We would be foolish to underestimate the dangers spelled by this current reactionary attack. We would be equally foolish not to see the positive gains that can accrue to the progressive forces if we take advantage of this attack to turn it against its initiators. At El Alamein, as on many occasions on the Eastern Front, we have seen Nazi offensives threatening to sweep all before them. We have seen these same offensives overcome by superior strategy and the enemy sent into headlong retreat. In this situation the superior strategy lies with the labor-progressive movement. But we must use our advantages in active struggle.

What is done for them, and not what is said about them, will decide whether the salaried workers will provide a reserve strength to reaction or to progress. And in politics, as in war, victory goes to the side with the heaviest artillery and the greatest reserves.

LEWIS MERRILL.

Mr. Merrill is president of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO. In next week's issue an article by Abram Flaxer, president of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, will continue the discussion with special reference to the problems of government employes.

Memo!

Have you written to Governor Dewey at Albany, urging him not to put that outstanding anti-fascist, Morris U. Schappes, in jail for eighteen months to two years, but instead to commute his sentence to the thirty-six days he has already served? Time is running short.

READERS' FORUM

Postwar Education

TO NEW MASSES: For some time I have been reading the various pros and cons set forth in NEW MASSES on the subject of postwar education. As a member of the Army Specialized Training Program, SCSU 1144, stationed at Harvard University, Mass., I should like to express to you the opinion of a sizable group of the 2,000 Army students here. Since I once studied at the University of Chicago and have undergone all sorts of educational treatment from coast to coast in pre-college days, I am a little qualified to act as "spokesman."

The main topic of the argument seems to be whether education shall be predominantly the liberal arts (here used to cover all subjects not directly scientific) or the sciences. It is quickly granted that one or the other will dominate in education after the war, by the very matter of numbers. But which shall it be?

We need both. That is evident. Science, for good or evil, is here to stay and there can be no back-tracking on the path of technology. Just as much is there a need for the "arts." Regardless of how many people think the study of government, sociology, philology, philosophy, and so forth, is a waste of time, there is being brought more and more to our attention the failures and inadequacies of present-day government, religion, philosophy (in fact, our entire mode of life).

The time has come for people like Miss Marcella Sloane to stop referring to people of free thought as "those die-hard liberal artists." Liberalism in thought and in action today is dynamic. True, it has its basic immutable, but what hasn't? Liberal thought will change as the fundamental concepts of mankind change, but not before, *but* free thinkers will adapt their concepts as much as possible to existing situations for both practicability and, more important, improvement.

Why this sudden rush to science? Why this accelerated and seemingly irrevocable rush for materialism? Science, and its study, will continue, but must it be made the basis of education in the future? Would it be or is it right for education to turn its main efforts to physical things when a baby can die of starvation in the midst of downtown extravagant Chicago without exciting comment, when the Citrus Growers Association of Southern California can reduce wages at a time when living costs are rising, and when expressions of equality, justice, and tolerance are travesties of their original meaning in this country today?

In my opinion, and I am not alone, it will be the duty of education in postwar days to develop the importance of the individual as against the importance of the corporation; to develop the mind instead of the hands; to show the road to happiness instead of the conventional highway to "per usual." Education must broaden its scope, it must take as its basic themes, truth, equality, freedom, internationalism, creativeness, knowledge, and ability, and make their application the rule instead of the exception. Education must positively show that no one factor in society is entirely independent of any other factor. Business is inexorably mixed with religion, ethics, and a hundred and one other factors—but today business is taught purely along the line of "profit and loss"—no mention is made in institutions of higher learning of equality of bargaining, of the innate wrongness in forcing out a competitor by dirty and underhanded methods, etc. Development of science is extremely logical, but the application of scientific results is completely inconsistent with the basic fundamentals of ethics and morals. Education must foster, not the spirit of competition, but of cooperation. Science is responsible for the dependence of individual upon individual, but there it stops. It is up to liberal education to show how and why one individual must cooperate with, not compete with, another. The principle of competition implies the rule of "survival of the fittest"—a rule which is not only selfish but inherently wrong. Education, and religion as well, must teach mutual trust, fairness, abhorrence of wrong.

Our course here at Harvard is engineering. Scientific subjects make up most of our curriculum, for engineering is a scientific vocation. Our other courses are designed by the Army to give us a "well-rounded background," a fact the War Department repeatedly mentions. Here at Harvard that "well-rounded background" consists of just three courses—English, history, and geography. This, in the War Department's eyes, constitutes an ample education for society today. All questions of right and wrong, religion, metaphysics, and philosophy, one must pick up, in some manner or other, out of society itself or else trust in existing theological trends for guidance.

How long will it be before people will completely realize the fact that the life on earth is merely transient, not permanent; that it is not what one acquires but what good one does that is important; that happiness and security are not synonymous? Let professors of education heed well a note of warning: ten million American men, and other millions the world over, coming home after the war are going to have one great desire and that will be to see that it does not happen again. And if education is unable to show the way in which peace and the will of the people can be maintained permanently throughout the world, then there will be other groups, far less prepared and far less peaceful in cleaning up the Wheelers, the Pattersons, the McCormicks infesting society, but far more willing to do so.

PAUL B. PATTON.

Cambridge, Mass.

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IN THE MARGIN

Notes at random: Malcolm Cowley's morose nostalgia. . . . The Italian version of Boris Godunov at the Metropolitan. . . . When Karl Marx quoted Shakespeare.

COWLEY'S LAMENT: Malcolm Cowley's pieces in the *New Republic* have sounded more and more grief-stricken in the past two or three years; and his article on "American Literature in Wartime" in the December 6 issue is scarcely a shining exception. It is a personal lament rather than literary criticism. So intimate is its mood of defeat that one would hesitate to comment on the article were not serious issues at stake.

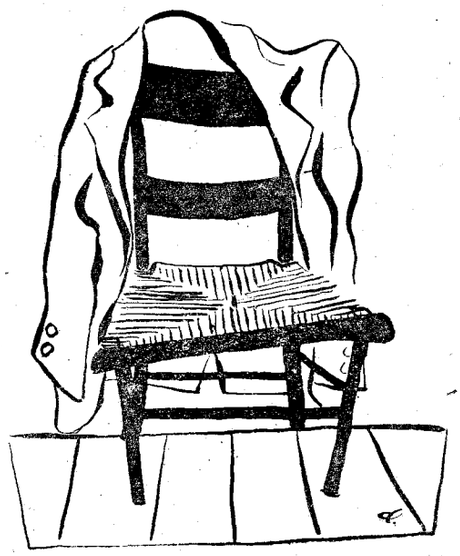
I am less interested in Cowley's extravagantly gloomy estimate of literature in wartime ("literature as an art is in a dead season") than in his mood of resignation and the muddy thinking from which that mood springs. It is a world of perpetual defeats which he seems to inhabit rather than a world in which actual victories are won by men who have not lost the power to fight. And this brooding on defeat is not realism, as he appears to suppose; it is a stubborn adherence to illusion.

Of the war itself Cowley has precious little to say. He prefers to nurse his wounds. He continues to bring up his favorite theme that Stalin personally affronted the Western liberals in 1939 ("he no longer cared whether they were his friends"). The Moscow Trials, which the *New Republic* as late as 1941 claimed as proof of the moral decay of Soviet life, were disastrous for American literature. The defeat in Spain brought about great confusion among writers. There was postwar disillusionment in the pre-war period. And so on. Of the tremendous gains in the recent affairs of mankind, of the urgent significance of United Nations friendship for the victory and the future, Cowley takes no account.

He is therefore inclined to shudder when he hears the word *affirmative*—"personally I distrust the word." Mr. Cowley regrets, but he does not struggle. It is not without point that, as he tells us, he should have "lost" his copy of the pamphlet called *Writers Take Sides*. There is ample room for self-indulgence in his conception of criticism, but none for decision and confidence. He stimulates to tears, but not to the production of a vigorous literature whose absence he is presumably mourning. And the result of this essentially submissive melancholy may be detected in the kind of writing about literature that Cowley, as a *New Republic* editor, helps sponsor.

In the very issue in which Cowley bemoans the past, the future is charted by Henry Miller: "What matter if we win the war? The four freedoms will still remain a mirage. When the next war comes other remote intangibles will be dangled before our eyes." If Malcolm Cowley thinks that this is the sort of attitude that will help produce either a United Nations victory or a democratic literature he is grievously mistaken. Similarly, the Red-baiting rubbish that passes as a review of Joy Davidman's *War Poems of the United Nations* in the same issue: all these cliches about the "party line" belong in the Hearst press and not in an organ that sponsors national unity. If Norman Corwin's radio scripts can be stupidly dismissed by a *New Republic* reviewer as "smug banality," what wonder is it that for Cowley "literature as an art is in a dead season"?

Nobody pretends that we are witnessing a great renascence of American literature at this moment. But as the recent Writers Congress in Los Angeles, which Cowley does not deign to notice, has demonstrated, we are witnessing among America's democratic writers a growing unity, a new understanding of supreme issues, a new confidence in their powers as writers to help mold a liberated future. The promise of American letters lies with them, whether they serve our country at the front or at home. Those who remain rooted in their confusion and nostalgia find themselves prematurely old, regarded at best with pained curiosity by younger and more hopeful spirits. No wonder they are unhappy.



BORIS GODUNOV: As a tribute to the Soviet Union, the Metropolitan Opera Association opened its jubilee season on November 22 with Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*. In appreciation of this thoughtful gesture, messages of congratulation were cabled by Dmitri Shostakovich, who has himself prepared a version of *Boris*, and Samuel Samosud, artistic director and principal conductor of the Bolshoi Opera in Moscow. Shostakovich noted with "particular satisfaction" and "special pride" that this event signalized the ever-increasing kinship between two great allies, a kinship that can be immeasurably deepened through cultural collaboration, as Stalin emphasized in his address of November 7 this year.

The review of *Boris Godunov* by the New York *Times* music critic, Olin Downes, was headlined "Horse in Spotlight at Metropolitan." The stage-struck white horse, which backed out into the wrong corner of the stage in the Krony scene, writes Mr. Downes, "was considerably the most individual and interesting performer in the cast." For Virgil Thomson, the New York *Herald Tribune* critic, the outstanding fact of the performance was that *Boris* emerged as an Italian opera superimposed on a Russian opera. Apparently there was, in any case, a wide gap between the Metropolitan's laudable intentions and the quality of the production.

What accounts for this gap? To blame it on the poor horse would be to betray a crude hippophobia. The inadequate quality of Russian operatic productions in this country is related to the unnatural estrangement between Russia and America for nearly twenty-five years. And we shall get a better *Boris* only as we break down the barriers that have separated our two peoples.

Actually, the first opera in Russian to be produced in New York—Verstovsky's *Aksold's Tomb*—was played here as far back as 1869, the very year when Mussorgsky was composing *Boris Godunov*. Our interest in musical Russia found other

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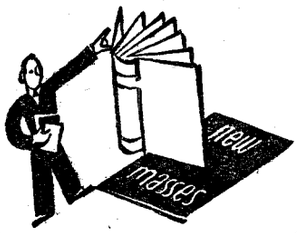

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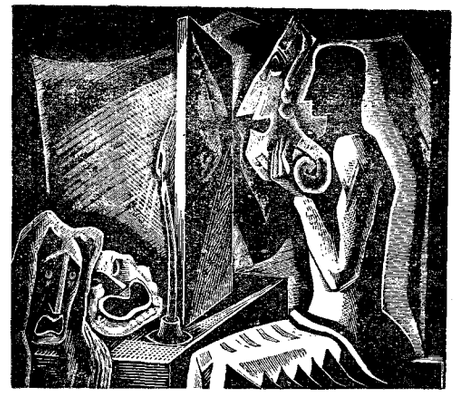
interesting expressions, such as the fact that Tschaikovsky conducted his own *Coronation March* at the opening of Carnegie Hall in 1891; the composer wrote to his nephew "Bobyk": "Several of my works that are unknown even in Moscow are played here often. I am a far more important person here than in Russia."

Yet today it is still possible to produce Mussorgsky's opera in an emasculated Italian version which misses the essential spirit of the work. Elie Siegmeister writes in a recent essay that "To Mussorgsky as to few composers before or since, the life of the common people was a wellspring of artistic power." He closely sympathized with the *Narodniki*, or populists, of his time. The composer's brother noted that "In boyhood and youth, as well as in his later years, my brother Modeste had a special predilection for everything concerned with the people and the peasantry." Into *Boris Godunov* he poured his rebellious democratic passion, and utilizing a libretto after Pushkin he made the Russian people, the chorus, a leading protagonist of the opera. Gorky pronounced *Boris* "our finest historical drama," but the czarist censors, dismayed by the scenes of peasant uprisings and the popular message of the work, ordered it to be removed from the stage. Musically too, Mussorgsky was a daring innovator, and Rimsky-Korsakov had to prepare a polished version of his fellow-composer's opera that would be more palatable to the conventional opera managers.

The Metropolitan has given us a *Boris* in the language of Verdi rather than that of Pushkin; and it has given us what Siegmeister has described as "the shorn and disfigured 'edited' edition," instead of Mussorgsky's own composition. And this combination, which naturally disappoints the music reviewers, though they know not why, exists today, ironically enough, because we have not quite freed ourselves from the czarist censor.

There is of course a technique of artistic liberation that we may use if we wish. The original texts of *Boris Godunov* are available at last. They have recently been published in the Soviet Union; Shostakovich has edited a new and more faithful version. We need no longer rely on a version written to soften the prejudices of conservative opera managers. Moreover, the day is not distant, as we all trust, when a Soviet opera company will enact on our stage a *Boris* that will once and for all make us intolerant of its unconvincing Italian copy. Then our tribute will be more than a gesture, splendid as that has been; it will at the same time be a major artistic advance.

MARX AND SHAKESPEARE: Paul Lafargue, Karl Marx's son-in-law, scarcely exaggerates when he notes that in the Marx family there was "a veritable



Shakespeare cult." The three daughters —Jenny, Eleanor, and Laura—knew much of the poet by heart. Their father, whose memory was prodigious, would often recite whole scenes from Shakespeare to a delighted household. And Frau Marx, who, as Wilhelm Liebknecht tells us, "had an excellent knowledge of Shakespeare," would at times pitch in where her husband left off.

There were other favorites, to be sure, in a family that loved to sing and play-act. Marx would urge his daughters to recite the satires or sing the love lyrics of Robert Burns. Negro spirituals were a special treat. There were evenings when the living room resounded with verses from a host of poets ranging from Sophocles to Pushkin, from Dante to Heine, all of whom the gifted linguist Marx knew in the original. But none quite compared with Shakespeare, whose characteristic expressions Marx had systematically classified and whose lesser figures were as familiar to him as the great.

That Shakespeare's images and characters were embedded in Marx's mind becomes clear—and in a refreshing way—when we examine works like *Capital* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. In his scientific studies Marx was fond of quoting the great writers of the past. In *Capital*, for instance, one may note references to and quotations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Sophocles' *Antigone*, Lucretius' *On the Nature of Things*, More's *Utopia*, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Butler's *Hudibras*, the works of Dante, Goethe, Balzac and many others. In each instance, the literary reference illuminates a scientific truth. Homer is used to make a point on division of labor, and Cervantes on the decline of honor under capitalism. Even a brief glance at the Shakespearean references affords an interesting view not only of Marx's remarkable power to integrate scientific statement and poetic image but of his many-sided personality as well.

Thus, Marx's rich humor finds expression in so unlikely a place as his discussion of Commodities, one of the most technical sections of *Capital*. "The reality of the value of commodities," writes Marx, "differs in this respect from Dame Quickly,

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that we don't know 'where to have it.'" This may scarcely appear amusing if we have forgotten our Shakespeare, but if we turn to *Henry IV, Part I*, we soon enough get the point. The reference is of course to Mistress Quickly, hostess of the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap, who defends herself so curiously from Falstaff's allegation:

FALSTAFF: "She's neither fish nor flesh; a man knows not where to have her."

MISTRESS QUICKLY: "Thou art an unjust man in saying so: thou or any man knows where to have me, thou knave thou!"

In his section on Money, Marx quotes a letter of Christopher Columbus from Jamaica in 1503: "By means of gold one can even get souls into Paradise." Not even the bones of saints, adds Marx caustically, can withstand this alchemy; it is the radical leveller that does away with all distinctions. His quotation from *Timon of Athens* gives dramatic force to the idea:

> *Gold, yellow, glittering, precious gold! Thus much of this will make black white; foul, fair; wrong right; base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant. . . .*

In his section on Machinery and Modern Industry, Marx observes that the contradiction between the technical necessities of modern industry and the social character inherent in its capitalist form deprives the worker of security, constantly threatening to take away the instruments of his labor, snatching from him his means of existence. From the *Merchant of Venice*, Marx aptly quotes:

> *You take my life*
> *When you do take the means whereby I live.*

In his acid portrait of the fraudulent Louis Bonaparte (*Eighteenth Brumaire*) Marx compares this Frenchman's shabby disguise of a people's hero with Nick Bottom's attempt to play the part of a lion in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Later on in the same work, he echoes satirically a line from *Hamlet*: "Old mole! Canst work i' the earth so fast? A worthy pioneer!"

Fond as he was of that great motto of antiquity—"Nothing human is alien to me"—Marx responded above all to Shakespeare's many-sidedness. In the poet he found an imagination that embraced all mankind and an art that was capable of expressing the whole range of human experience. Here too he was in hearty agreement with Frederick Engels, whose strongest advice to the dramatists and novelists of his time was: "Shakespearize!"

Shakespeare's Audience

THE ANTIC HAMLET AND RICHARD III, *by Dr. Sidney Thomas. King's Crown, Columbia University Press. $1.50.*

THERE is a brisk democratic breeze playing upon the ivied walls of academic Shakespearean scholarship in our land. In 1940 there was Prof. Hazelton Spencer's *Art and Life of William Shakespeare*, which revealed at least an awareness that fascism was a menace to culture and Shakespeare. In 1941 Prof. Alfred Harbage produced a work of first-rate scholarship in *Shakespeare's Audience*, in which he demolished the accepted academic doctrine that Shakespeare was great *despite* his audience and demonstrated that the audience, which was truly popular in the sense in which our movie audience is popular today, was a source of inspiration to Shakespeare. Professor Harbage exhibited a rare sense of the sheer value of the people, the masses, in Elizabethan London.

Now we have this little book by a young scholar at Columbia University, Dr. Sidney Thomas, at present in the army. Although confined by the form of a dissertation to the examination of a very narrow problem, Dr. Thomas' essay implicitly exhibits what new horizons of scholarship exist when one admits into one's field of vision the existence of the people and of the cultural traditions that they shape and transmit to every new artist. In this view contact with the people and popular tradition is the artist's source of strength.

Dr. Thomas is bold but thorough in challenging the dominant pattern of Shakespearean scholarship. He argues convincingly that "scholars have greatly overemphasized the importance of the learned tradition in the work of Shakespeare." It was not Seneca or the University Wits like Kyd, Greene, or Marlowe who provided the soil that Shakespeare fertilized with his own specific genius. Rather are his roots "deep in the soil of the popular drama" with "the largely unknown and despised creators of the old moralities and interludes."

Which approach is truer is not an abstruse question irrelevant to the plays themselves or to their meaning. That faithfulness to Shakespeare's own meaning is a decisive factor in determining the quality of a production is currently being proved in

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the Margaret Webster production of *Othello* with Robeson in the titular role. The test, therefore, of the fruitfulness of Dr. Thomas' method is to be found in the light it casts on the two plays he studies, *Hamlet* and *Richard III*. By throwing new light on these much discussed plays, Dr. Thomas provides the best possible substantiation for the validity of the democratic approach.

What does Hamlet mean when he indicates to Horatio and Marcellus that he may soon put on an "*antic* disposition"? "That he does not mean madness is certain," Dr. Thomas declares. "Antic," he shows, "is generally used to signify deliberate masking carried on in a comic spirit. Moreover, the connotation of the word is definitely theatrical: it seems to refer to a traditional clownish type associated with masked revels . . . time after time, in the plays of Shakespeare, the word 'antic' is used to signify a clownish character or a comic disguise." The antic was a very common character in the moralities and interludes with which the Shakespearean audience was thoroughly familiar. He was known as the Vice Dissimulation. Dr. Thomas, after indicating to us the conduct and character of the Vice Dissimulation in the old moralities, applies his analysis to the character of Richard III and Hamlet with very illuminating effect.

Nor does the author ride his thesis to its own collapse. His desire is to explain, and therefore enrich, Hamlet, and not to explain him away. Too much scholarship dealing with sources and origins leaves the reader with the implication that Shakespeare is little better than his sources. Dr. Thomas avoids that pedantry. "Shakespeare has not merely taken over the Vice tradition; he has fundamentally transformed it . . . the tradition of dissimulation is not something which is extraneous to *Hamlet;* it lies at the heart of Shakespeare's finished conception. . . . The relationship between Hamlet and the Vice Dissimulation is therefore a complex one; the differences between the two figures as well as the similarities must be perceived if we are to understand the greatness of Shakespeare's achievement." Dr. Thomas' development of this thesis is a contribution to our understanding of a great play.

One need not accept every secondary premise or casual obiter dictum of this work in order to assert the value of the essay. Its main point is made more than adequately, and with a most unacademic but trenchant brevity. The restoration of Shakespeare to the people as an artist of the people is a great task that is being pursued, at different paces, both here and in the Soviet Union. Scholarship is needed to help keep that restoration from becoming a vulgarized distortion and just "another interpretation" of a great dramatist. The people want and need the truth. A scholarship close to the people will serve them and the truth at the same time. Dr. Thomas' work is a fine case in point.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

Women in Overalls

OUT OF THE KITCHEN—INTO THE WAR, *by Susan B. Anthony II. Stephen Daye. $2.50.*

IN A large war plant, Mary Brown operates a crane—a highly skilled job. One of the five million women entering industry since 1940, she has been subject to taunts and ridicule from some of the men. One in particular—call him Joe Smith—made a kissing noise whenever she was around. Joe was in the yard one day, scoffing while Mary swung the giant crane. With one sweep of the great crane arm she scooped him up and held him aloft. When she finally put him down Joe had evidently learned respect for at least one woman's abilities. He has stopped scoffing.

Susan B. Anthony II, great-niece of the nineteenth-century suffrage leader, sees this problem of women's recognition, on a basis of equality, against the background of winning the war. Women are the margin for victory, she points out. Some twenty-two million housewives formed our main labor reserve for war production. And, she adds, women are also "the margin for the economic life of the peace."

Out of the Kitchen is a book for men too. "Not immoderately feminist," as she says, the author reminds labor leaders that more than twelve million women workers are still *outside* the labor movement. Although their trade union membership has more than tripled, from less than a million before the war to three million today, much remains to be done, especially in developing women as leaders. Miss Anthony commends the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers as a "notable exception" among unions because more than a third of its members are women and they get equal pay for equal work. Yet at the CIO's sixth convention, recently held in Philadelphia, not one of the UE's ten delegates was a woman. And in all, among 526 delegates, there were approximately ten women at the convention. President Eleanor Nelson of the United Federal Workers is the only woman on the CIO executive board. The AFL does not include one in its executive council.

In a keen, fresh style, Miss Anthony tells the story of women yesterday and today, analyzes their special wartime problems and shows what must be done to solve them. Her thought is often so wittily and neatly expressed that the crisp, brief sentence becomes an epigram. This reviewer, familiar with figures, in millions, on women in war industry, found *Out of the Kitchen* refreshingly different from any other study of the subject.

GRACE HUTCHINS.

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WINGED VICTORY

This is our air force. The drama of dauntless men who discovered that the sky has no boundaries. Reviewed by Harry Taylor.

WINGED VICTORY, *a spectacle play written and directed by Moss Hart. Settings by Sgt. Harry Horner, lighting by Sgt. Abe Feder, costumes by Sgt. Howard Shoup, original music and arrangements by Sgt. David Rose, chorus under the direction of Lieut. Leonard de Paur. Presented at the Forty-fourth Street Theater by the United States Air Forces for the Army Emergency Relief.*

THE house darkens, a plane motor fades rapidly up; the overture, sharp, incisive, takes it away—and you are in the play even before the curtain rises. For musically, pictorially, dramatically, in mass and in individual portrayal, *Winged Victory* is a swift, indivisible experience which does not stop building until long after you are out of the theater. The design is exceedingly simple and even obvious: within the spectacular over-all pattern of the Army Air Force, six boys in training and in battle, with death for some and dedication for the others. Moss Hart has followed this design without deviation of inner plot; and yet the play has everything: comedy, pathos, burlesque, romance, tragedy, and the lift of heroic purpose. Gen. Henry H. Arnold assigned Moss Hart to the mission of telling us about the Army Air Corps. The mission has been accomplished with superb success.

The six young men with whose lives we make instant identification are three small-town Ohio pals—Allan, a bank clerk, Frankie, a chemist, and Pinky, the tremendously ebullient young barber who declares that once he gets his wings he will come to earth only for women and medals; the other three youngsters are Bobby, an Oregon farmer, Texas Dave, with six oil wells in the family, and Irving, a Brooklyn Jewish boy who never lets anyone forget that he is a Dodger fan and a father. They meet and become fast friends on their arrival at camp. Their noisy reception by the cadets in fatigue dress, introduces us to the camaraderie, ribaldry, and toughness of the Army. In spite of its chorus, "You'll be sorry!" in a wonderfully directed mass scene, our six march off with their civilian illusions unimpaired.

We catch up with them again five months later, months of intense grueling work. They are beginning to understand that "pilots are not made at Warner Brothers." They are ready for the tests which will either wash them out or give them their classifications of pilot, bombardier, navigator. We take one of these tests with them. They sit before a board on which lights will register their degree of nervousness at a simple but exact task. An officer inflicts every psychological hazard upon them as he orders them to begin or stop. The intention is to weed out those who are temperamentally unsuited for accurate coordination under mental stress. I could feel the audience sweat through this scene. In one of the more moving frames, Pinky, the most confident of the lot, is washed out for no fault within his control and is at once sent off to a gunnery school.

Later we join the cadets again in a shed during their first solo night flight. One after another, the men return, thrilled, exalted by their passage under the stars. Suddenly they get the news that a plane has crashed. Four men are still out. We feel the dread of every man in the shed that the casualty may be his particular pal. The pain comes to Allan and Irving, for it is Frank who was killed.

FINALLY, the training is over. We are present at the graduation ceremonies. The Chaplain speaks a beautiful prayer for the victory of our arms in the cause of freedom. The CO expresses his astonishment at the ability of today's youngsters to master the highly complex arts of combat flying in fifteen months. It used to take seven years. It is a miracle, he declares. A people's miracle, because the boys come from the people to fight for the people. Then comes the solemn officer's oath and the award for which all these men have worked so hard: wings, the right to fly and fight and suffer and perhaps die in this far-flung war.

In the second act, we are at Bobby's wedding and we share with him his momentary rebellion when he is telephoned to report for duty at once. The story of

"The Andrews Sisters," Army Air Force version, in "Winged Victory."

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BACK THE ATTACK
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the women whom these boys love endows the play with added poignancy. They are the ones, together with the boys' parents, who give solid ground for what the war is about. They know how brief a flyer's life may be, they know that any flight may be the last, and they snatch at every possible moment of reunion with them. The scene in the tawdry hotel room which three of the women occupy at the time their men roar off into the spaces of the Pacific is not the best in the play, and yet we know the agony and love that is in each woman's heart because it is in our hearts too.

Allan, Irving, and Pinky are assigned to the same Flying Fortress which they name Winged Victory. Harry Horner's seventeen sets are all of them beautifully conceived, but the austere and powerful glimpse he gives us of a section of a Flying Fort is breath-taking in its architectural majesty and declaration of power. The next scene takes us to a camouflaged corner of an island in the Pacific. The boys are putting on a Christmas show with delightfully corny jokes and hilarious burlesques of Carmen Miranda and the three Andrews Sisters, when the alarm sounds. The final frame, eerily staged, is before a medical hut. Winged Victory has been in battle. Allan and Irv bring in Pinky, who has been wounded, possibly mortally. While the doctor takes the gunner in charge, Allan and Irv talk about this thing they are doing. They are no longer provincials or boys. They have fought in many parts of the world and they have noticed that there are no boundaries in the sky. They have flown with British and Chinese and Russians and they know now that they have to make a new world, they have to "make the whole goddamn world over," and that they've got to do it together. That is what they owe to Frank and Pinky and that is what must be done for the sake of their wives and kids.

To prepare for this play, Moss Hart spent many months in the various Army Air Force training centers. He lived with the cadets incognito as one of them, passing rapidly through the stages of their schooling. He worked with them, played with them, and tried to understand them. As a result of this immersion, he has written the best war play we have had, a thoroughly entertaining, democratic job and the best thing he has ever done. He has also directed the play with a great sense of reality in all its moods and whirled it swiftly along in spite of its many scenes. His total accomplishment is brilliant and masterly. He has been splendidly assisted by Sergeant Rose's music and the chorus, and by Feder's magnificent lighting of the Horner sets.

There are over three hundred soldiers in this production, most of whom were never before on a stage. Not for a moment could you detect this. This is so much of an Army show that I hesitate to cite any particular performance. However, my applause goes especially to Corp. Mark Daniels as the pilot of Winged Victory and to Pfc. Edmond O'Brien for his rounded and thoroughly human characterization of the Jewish flyer.

Moss Hart has proved that present reality has in it all the variety of material and mood and all the emotional stuff to make a hundred wonderfully exciting plays. Perhaps the escapist boys on Broadway will realize this, and that we, the playgoing public who live with the war have not a lesser desire to understand it, but a greater one.

HARRY TAYLOR.

Wonder Child on Evil

It is too bad that George Abbott has closed William Saroyan's new play. In *Get Away Old Man*, Saroyan was able for the first time in his stage-writing to get away from that most absorbing wonder-child, Saroyan. You will remember that in *My Heart's in the Highlands* he celebrated himself as all the world and it was wonderfully redolent of Truth and Beauty and Love and Genius. Later, sensing that there existed something outside of himself and that it is Evil, he wrote *Time of Your Life* in which he was twenty little people all full of yearning and vagueness and a pathetic but wonderful grandeur—and in stalks the shape of Evil, but the wonder-child lays his pistol on him and the Beautiful Life, released, hops off the floor, leaps at the piano, tears off a clog, and hits the jack-pot with all lights and flags going on the most wonderful slot-machine in the world. Now with time, Saroyan traveled to Hollywood and there apparently came face to face with Evil. And though he received from it a fabulous check for a fabulous tale in which he was forty little but wonderfully grand and lovable people, nevertheless he was so unnerved by the confrontation that he sat down and wrote *Get Away Old Man*. The measure of his disturbance may be gauged by the fact that in this play he is only nine of the eleven characters, the other two being the evil Old Man who is the head of the picture company and a New York *Times* reporter who may be excluded on the ground that he is a fool. Saroyan's vivisection of the Old Man is, of course, purely personal for he is not yet capable of social analysis. This is just as well in a period when the film industry is contributing so much to the people's understanding of the very real Enemy of Mankind.

Besides reaching for a character outside himself, this is also Saroyan's first conventional play. Abbott gave it a robust and realistic production, thus further removing the author from the tone-poem style of the earlier plays. The Old Man, who was played with great energy and satiric slash by Edward Bagley, has brought Saroyan,

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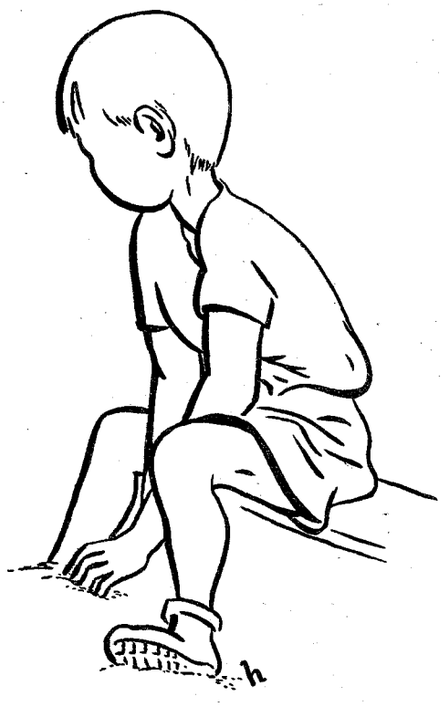
alias Harry Bird, to Hollywood in order to induce him to write the most stupendous script ever scrivened: the story of the Eternal Mother who through *meaningless* births and deaths and wars, goes *meaningfully* on forever. But though Saroyan is half-fascinated by this theme, he is repelled by the Old Man's corrupt and illiterate character. He refuses to commit himself to the script and the Old Man pursues him through the next two acts. In the second act Saroyan gives us the patented portrait of himself as a wonder child. While he is informing us that he is probably the greatest writer of the day, indubitably a genius, and that his confusion in a world of confusion is the best sign that he is the bearer of the Truth, he plays darts copiously with a drunken friend, delightfully performed by Glenn Anders, and falls in instant love with a little extra who happens to wander into his vision.

We never do learn what the great writer decides to do about the Old Man's script, but it really doesn't matter. For despite its adolescence and bohemianism, I thought the play fairly entertaining throughout and certainly superior to any new play of the season except, of course, Moss Hart's. My interest was compelled not by the characterization of Saroyan by Saroyan, but rather by his vindictive bite in etching the Old Man. Punning the metaphor, this is the first time that the wonder-child, hitherto tender and often bathotic, has used his teeth on anyone. He might have chosen a more important incarnation of Evil. And, of course, it must have been saddening to him to have the alleged victim pay him $300,000 for the film rights to the assault. But, Jiminy, it was amazing enough to see the kid in there biting and punching at all. It was definitely evidence that he is growing up. Abbott might have given us more chance to see this for ourselves.

H. T.

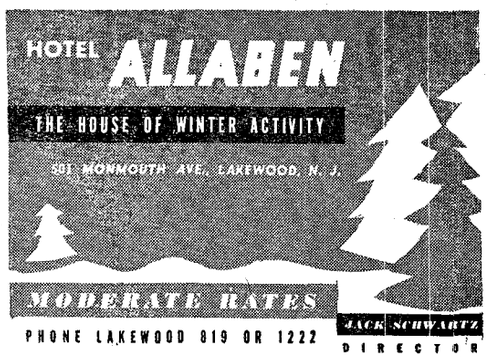


A Goldfadden Dream

If you have been turning a fish-eye toward the current list of Broadway productions, then I urge you to hurry down to the Malin Studio. For here, just off Broadway, you will discover delightful theater. The Malin's occupant is the Folksbiene, a non-professional company of Jewish actors, and if their work in *A Goldfadden Dream*, the current production, is anything to go by, this group will very quickly slip into the place vacated by Artef.

Abraham Goldfadden, father of the Jewish Theater, supplies the characters and the music for the script. These tunes and stagefolk have been household props for generations of Jews in America, and like the characters of all folk literature, these Goldfadden creatures enjoy lives and personalities of their own. I had heard of Kuny Lemel, the universal dope, the physical and mental stutterer, long before I knew of the theater. Then there are Mirele, the virtuous beautiful maiden, archetype of pure womanhood, Hotzmach, the impoverished, improvident peddler, compounded of court jester and Till Eulenspiegel, a beloved rogue who cheats and steals in the marketplace, father of three daughters whose simple needs and social desires poignantly express the needs and desires of the people imprisoned in the Europe's ghettoes, Bubba Yochna, the old fortune-telling crone, Marcus, the handsome hero, beloved of Mirele, and scores of others. Consequently, the rebirth of this gallery of characters on the stage of the Malin is a magic carpet trip to a village that you may have never seen, or a country you may have never visited, but which is all familiar through its folksay, people, songs, and mores.

The revival of any primitive theater with its stock villains, and heroes, its stylized declamations and gestures usually produces a tongue-in-cheek atmosphere, but in this instance it is well blended with sentiment and pathos by the skill of Jacob Rothbaum, the director. Some time ago, the Jewish writers Fenster and Einbinder (Chaver Paver) wrote a fantasy on Goldfadden, mixing the characters from his various plays, and experimenting with form to achieve a modern version of the old folk theater. Manger, a Polish writer, worked along similar lines, creating three Hotzmachs to see what would happen when all three were thrown together. Mr. Rothbaum, in shaping the version now on display, merged both scripts, retained the best of the original author, and added a few inventions of his own. To Goldfadden's tunes he has added some music by Henoch Kon and the music contributes much to the



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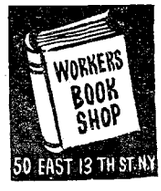

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present script. Two of the most charming songs you will hear in any language are the work of Kon, the contemporary composer. They are the "Feather" song and "Ai vie Shoen," both sung by the three daughters. The total result is a pasticcio of ingratiating preparations.

Rothbaum's staging is superb. Despite the limitations of the small stage, the illusions of the old folk theater are effectively created. The cast, composed entirely of people who earn their living outside the theater, make the director's work look easy. It is difficult to give credit individually to the nineteen members of the cast within this space, but one must single out Hyman Zaner (Oyzer), Joshua Zeldis (Hotzmach), Paula Eisner, Renee Specter, and Bronia Newman, as his three daughters, Sara Stabin (Bubba Yochna) and Luba Bloom-Condell (Mirele)for capturing so brilliantly the spirit of the script.

Unfortunately, this company performs only on Sunday evenings. The Malin Studio is at 137 W. 44th St. A word to the discerning. . . .

JOSEPH FOSTER.

Film Potpourri

MGM discovers the war . . . Errol Flynn and Claudette Colbert.

CRY HAVOC, *MGM, directed by Richard Thorpe, with Margaret Sullavan, Ann Sothern, Joan Blondell, etc.*

THE entire press reading from left to right, was practically unanimous in damning *Cry Havoc,* and without benefit of faint praise; all bouquets were omitted. I have no desire to enter into a sole tilt against the critical fraternity just for the joys of logomachy. I'll admit, to begin with, that *Cry Havoc* is hardly the best thing of its kind. But the film is absolutely *not* the leper that it has been made out to be. Far from it.

It would seem to the reviewer that his brothers in the barb and dart business show unmistakable symptoms of "dizziness with success"—an ailment almost epidemic in this winter of 1943. Why this opinion? First of all, remember that *Cry Havoc* is an MGM product. MGM has been among the most reluctant of all West Coast studios to convert their pictures into useful wartime instruments—largely due, no doubt, to Louis B. Mayer's Hooverite Republican affiliations. Yet when MGM does turn up with an *honest* war effort (there were even disagreements on that score in the press), it becomes the occasion for mayhem, where obviously encouragement and understanding would have been far more appropriate. Evidently the feeling prevails that we (the country) are so well along that we can dispense with the contributions of a film like *Cry Havoc,* whatever its shortcomings. I don't think so.

You will perhaps recall the stage original of the film. (I believe it was entitled *All Through the Night.*) After a successful road showing it finally hit New York and promptly folded. To be truthful, the play was a rather dry-boned affair, and its performances inept. Its content (chief impulses and motivations) however, was essentially sound. The plot concerned thirteen volunteer nurses' aides who land at a behind-the-lines hospital on Bataan. No sooner have they arrived than the post is threatened with Japanese encirclement. Escape is impossible; all American guns have been silenced. The battle noise has ceased—then the whine of a sniper's bullet sounds the ultimate moment of surrender to the victor.

The film version has succeeded in ironing out many of the original's scenes and the performances are a vast improvement. But what must have annoyed the pressmen no end, and in the final analysis accounts for their low opinion of the film, is the peculiar fact that *Cry Havoc* resolutely resists conversion from the stage play into a movie. A thing like that can obviously get under your skin. Nevertheless, a great deal of good comes over. At the film's outset the characters display an uncertainty about the war's issues, typical of a large section of Americans at the time of Bataan. By the time *Cry Havoc* has finished its course there is no longer any doubt. We know what we have on our hands. The film tells us in just so many words—we're in a war for survival; the consequences of defeat can only be complete extinction of liberty, and enslavement. It is hard to see how any critic—after that—can call the film "meretricious." For the above is not a mere addendum—it is an integral and valid part of *Cry Havoc's* development. It seems to me that there is a lesson to read in this film—both critic and audience must always be on guard, especially today, lest purely esthetic and formal considerations distort final judgment as to whether the particular work under appraisal is on their side and advances their struggle. This department refuses to turn down *Cry Havoc.*

NORTHERN PURSUIT, *Warner Bros., directed by Raoul Walsh, photography Sid Hickox, script, Alvah Bessie and Frank Gruber; with Errol Flynn, Julie Bishop, Helmut Dantine, Gene Lockhart, etc.*

THE one thing one can't say about *Northern Pursuit* is that it is stagey. From a structural point of view it is quite the opposite from *Cry Havoc,* which never really emerges from its single set. *Northern Pursuit* is all chase—all too typical chase, you might say. Six Nazis are put ashore on upper Canada by a submarine. Their intent is to get to a secret cache where a bomber's dissembled parts are stored. With said bomber, they're going to put out of commission an important traffic artery between the United States and Canada. But

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they hadn't counted on the Warner Bros. who, patriotically enough, call on Errol Flynn with guaranteed results. This *guaranteed* quality, this certainty of outcome, is the chief objection to the film. What on earth is the value of talented writers' beating their fevered brains to devise incidents placing the hero and his effects (limbs, mustache, thirty-two teeth, all showing) in peril dire if the audience knows full well that the Flynn boy has all the aces, the trumps, the best and last right hook, the remaining cartridge, the final embrace? At best, you get a clever compilation of tricks that only serves to rig up a stereotype.

Mind you, we don't contend that Flynn himself is an inevitable stereotype. *Edge of Darkness* disposed of that idea. What we are attempting to say is that if you deliberately set out to acquire a stereotype, nothing in the wide world will prevent you from ending up with one.

Northern Pursuit has some points in its favor. Naturally, since such a film can hold no *essential* surprises for an audience, it must assure interest in other ways. There is fine skiing and first-rate scenic coverage —the northern snows, an impressive mountain peak. Another item on the credit side, really the most solid element in the film, is its insight into the working of the Nazi mind.

NO TIME FOR LOVE, *Paramount, directed by Mitchell Leisen, with Claudette Colbert and Fred MacMurray.*

A THOROUGHLY addle-pated divertissement, this furnishes three or four good laughs (we prefer the dream sequence to all of *Flesh and Fantasy*), but finding them is very much like going through a box of bon-bons. You've got to take the cream along with the nougats. Claudette Colbert, art photographer for *Mirror Magazine* (read *Life* or *Vogue*) meets up with bed bliss, Inc. in the person of Fred MacMurray, sandhog—a rough sort of fellow. "What will I do with him when company comes? I can't confine him to the bedroom. He's active—a growing boy, etc." So it turns out that he has a college education, after all. No courage! Couldn't Paramount let it go at brawn?

DANIEL PRENTISS.

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